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# East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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11 January 1984

# EAST EUROPE REPORT

## POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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## BRIEFS

LEADERS AT PEOPLE'S COUNCILS--A meeting of the Berat District People's Council on 23 November examined problems pertaining to the further strengthening of the socialist juridical order in the light of the directives of the Eighth AWP Congress and Comrade Enver Hoxha's teachings. The meeting was attended by a number of guests, deputies to the People's Assembly, officials of local government and economic organs, and others. The meeting was also attended by Simon Stefani, AWP Central Committee Politburo member and secretary, who also addressed the meeting. A meeting of the Durres District People's Council also met on 24 November to examine the further strengthening of the socialist juridical order. It was attended by Lenka Cuko, AWP Central Committee Politburo member and secretary. The meeting discussed ways of perfecting the work of the people's councils at all levels. The Tirana District People's Councils also met on 24 November to discuss questions pertaining to the strengthening of the socialist juridical order. Comrade Rita Marko, AWP Central Committee Politburo member and deputy chairman of the Presidium of the People's Assembly, was also present. [Summary] [Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 2100 GMT 24 Nov 83 AU]

ZIMBABWE ENVOY'S ARRIVAL--(Kenedy Manjika), the new ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Republic of Zimbabwe to the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, arrived in our country today. He was welcomed at the airport by Jovan Antoni, chief of the protocol Branch of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. [Text] [AU042001 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1900 GMT 1 Dec 83]

AMALIA FLEMING VISIT--Tirana, 27 November (ATA)--At the invitation of the Albanian Committee for Cultural and Friendly Relations with Foreign Countries, Amalia Fleming, renowned Greek personality, wife of the scientist and inventor of penicillin, Dr Alexander Fleming, arrived in our country yesterday. She will pay a friendly visit to our country. [Text] [AU042001 Tirana ATA in English 0900 GMT 27 Nov 83]

LEADERS AT DISTRICT MEETINGS--Numerous activities are being carried out on the occasion of the 28 and 29 November celebrations, the 71st anniversary of the proclamation of independence, and the 39th anniversary of the liberation and victory of the people's revolution. Amongst the activities organized in Diber District, a solemn meeting was held in Peshkopiye city on this occasion. Present at this meeting was Hekuran Isai, AWP Politburo member and minister of internal affairs. Similar meetings were held in various other districts. Present

at these meetings were as follows: Hajredin Celiku, AWP Politburo member and minister of industry and mines, in Tropoje District; Pali Miska, AWP Politburo member and first secretary of Elbasan District, in Elbasan District; AWP Politburo member Muho Asllani in Durres District; Vangjel Cerrava, AWP Central Committee secretary, in Korce District; and Shefqet Peci, AWP Central Committee member and chairman of the Albanian War Veterans Committee, was present in Lezhe District. [Summary] [AU042001 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1900 GMT 27 Nov 83 ]

ALIA RECEIVES ZIMBABWE AMBASSADOR--Yesterday, Comrade Ramiz Alia, chairman of the Presidium of the People's Assembly of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, received (Kenedy Manjika), ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Republic of Zimbabwe to the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, who presented his credentials. Taking part in the credentials presentation ceremony were Reis Malile, minister of foreign affairs; Sihat Tozaj, secretary of the Presidium of the People's Assembly; Anton Berzholli, director in the Ministry of Foreign of Foreign Affairs; and Jovan Antoni, director of the protocol branch of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The ambassador was accompanied by the embassy's first secretary, (Andrew Maringa). [Text] [AU111829 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1900 GMT 6 Dec 83]

ALGERIAN ENVOY'S ARRIVAL--Abderrahmane Cheriet, newly-appointed ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Algerian Democratic and People's Republic to the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, arrived in Tirana today. He was welcomed by Jovan Antoni, chief of the Portocol Branch of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. [Text] [AU111829 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1900 GMT 7 Dec 83]

DELEGATION BACK FROM FRANCE--A delegation of the Albanian Writers and Artists Union, headed by its chairman Dritero Agolli, which recently took part in a colloquium on Albanian literature and national identity in Paris, returned to Albania today. During its stay in Paris the delegation met with French Minister of Culture Jack Lang. [Summary] [AU111829 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1900 GMT 5 Dec 83]

SAVINGS DEPOSITS INCREASE--Savings deposits are one of the indicators of the material and cultural well-being of the working masses. By the end of the current year, savings deposits are expected to be 10 percent higher than a year ago. For the first 3 years of the current 5-year period, savings deposits are 20 percent above expectations. During the past 10 years, savings accounts increased by an average of 50,000 a year. Average deposits have also increased. [Summary] [AU241752 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1330 GMT 24 Dec 83]

MARKO AT KORCE COMMENORATION--The 40th anniversary of the formation of the Fourth Shock Brigade was commemorated in Korce District. Wreaths were laid on the martyrs' graves on behalf of the AWP Central Committee, the Korce District AWP Committee, the District's People's Council Executive Committee, and others. A meeting was organized in Voskopoje on this occasion. Taking part were cooperativists, workers, martyrs' family members, soldiers, and young people. Also present were Rita Marko, AWP Central Committee Politburo member and deputy chairman of the Presidium of the People's Assembly; Dhimiter Petro, first

secretary of the Korce District AWP Committee; and other comrades. The meeting was opened by Fatbardh Harizi, chairman of the district's People's Council Executive Committee. Sofokli Lazri, AWP Central Committee member, greeted those present. [Summary] [AU252004 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1900 GMT 25 Dec 83]

CONDOLENCES ON GUINEA EARTHQUAKE--Comrade Ramiz Alia, chairman of the Presidium of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, has sent the following telegram to Sekou Toure, president of the People's Revolutionary Republic of Guinea, on the occasion of the strong earthquake that hit Guinea: We learned with deep sorrow of the strong earthquake that hit your country and that resulted in many victims and large material damages. On behalf of the Albanian people, the Presidium of the People's Assembly of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, and myself, I express to you and the friendly people of Guinea our feelings of sympathy and our sincere condolences to the victims' families. We are convinced that your industrious people will courageously overcome the difficulties created by this natural disaster. [Text] [AU262001 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1900 GMT 26 Dec 83]

CSO: 2100/20

DAILY COMMENTS ON SHULTZ VISIT TO MOROCCO, TUNISIA

AU161107 Sofia BTA in English 0840 GMT 16 Dec 83

[BTA headline: "End to Ritual Curtseys"]

[Text] Sofia 16 December (BTA)--Commenting on the visit of U.S. State Secretary Shultz to the capitals of Tunisia and Morocco, TRUD notes that for the first time a high-ranking U.S. representative had to hear in "moderate" Arab states so many criticisms and sharp objections prompted by Washington's Middle East policy.

The reasons for it are clear, the daily notes. The Camp David Accord which has always been considered by the unbiased and farsighted as a perilous plot against the Arabs, is entering its final phase. The time of pretence of occasionally staged "family rows" prompted by some extremely brutal acts of the Israelis, is over. The military and political alliance made between Reagan and Shamir, under which Israel is officially turning into an American stronghold, made it possible to throw off the masks. In Washington they are no more ashamed of embracing the butchers of Sabra and Shatila. The ways and means with which the USA and Israel intend to carry through the actual re-colonization of the Middle East, to lay their hands on the resources of the Arab countries, are not concealed any more.

TRUD emphasizes that the acts of Washington and Tel Aviv are pointed not only at the Palestinian movement, Lebanon and Syria. All the Arab countries are taken aim at, including the conservative ones. The USA does not need their "friendship" any longer but their complete obedience and their riches. This refers to Saudi Arabia too. Now, when the world markets are oversaturated with oil, the danger of an embargo and using oil as an economic weapon do not frighten the White House any more. They have gotten ready to face a case when the Arabs turn out insufficiently manageable. The strong U.S. fleet along the Lebanese coastline, the strong points and bases of the "swift deployment forces" in Diego Garcia, Sudan, Oman, etc. create a real danger for them from the East, South and North, the TRUD commentary reads.

CSO: 2200/57

BULGARIA

CEAUSESCU-PAPANDREOU TALKS, BALKAN ZONE NOTED

AU201038 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 19 Dec 83 p 7

[BTA correspondent's report: "Visit Ended"]

[Text] Bucharest 18 December (BTA correspondent)--The official talks between Nicolae Ceausescu, president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, and Andreas Papandreou, premier of the Republic of Greece, ended here today.

The talks concentrated on the present extremely tense international situation and problems connected with the arms race, as well as efforts to consolidate peace and international security.

Romania and Greece both declare themselves in favor of transforming the Balkans into a nuclear-free zone and into a zone free of foreign military bases, in favor of settling all existing problems through negotiations.

As to the Middle East, the two sides think that problems can be settled through negotiations by the withdrawal of the Israeli troops from all Arab territories occupied in 1967 and by granting to the Palestinian people the right of self-determination and of establishing their own state.

The two sides expressed their satisfaction at the development of their bilateral relations and mapped out specific measures for expanding their cooperation.

Andreas Papandreou, the Greek premier, departed for his country today.

[Editorial note: The Sofia dailies OTECHESTVEN FRONT and TRUD on 19 December slightly abridged versions of the same BTA correspondent's item, both reporting the passage on a Balkan nuclear-free zone. the OTECHESTVEN FRONT report is also entitled "The Balkans--Nuclear-Free Zone."]

CSO: 2200/57

BULGARIA

BALEV RECEIVES BELGIAN MINISTER, BRITISH FIGURE

AU161930 Sofia BTA in English 1840 GMT 16 Dec 83

[Text] Sofia, 16 December (BTA)--Mr Mildo Balev, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CC of the BCP, met today the laureate of the International Dimitrov Prize, Professor Pierre Vermeillen, member of the Politburo of the Flemish Socialist Party and state minister of Belgium, and Mrs Mary Pritt, wife of the famous British lawyer, Dennis Pritt. Mrs Pritt is vice-president of the National Assembly of Women of Great Britain. Mr Vermeillen and Mrs Pritt are participants in the meeting and round-table dialogue on the theme "the Leipzig Trial and Its Significance."

The guests expressed their pleasure to be again in the motherland of Georgi Dimitrov, whom they defended at the countertrial in London, and shared their impression of Bulgaria's dynamic development. They stressed that in the present tense international situation, the bequests of Georgi Dimitrov for creation of an antifascist front and the formulation of Mr Todor Zhivkov for the role of the antiwar movement are particularly topical.

On behalf of the secretary general of the CC of the BCP and president of the State Council of Bulgaria, Mr Todor Zhivkov, Mr Milko Balev expressed the gratitude of the BCP and of the Bulgarian People for the work of Professor Pierre Vermeillen and Mrs Pritt in defence of Georgi Dimitrov, for their contribution to the advancement of friendship with the Bulgarian people.

CSO: 2200/57



## BULGARIA

### COMMITTEE OF CULTURE STATUTE

Sofia DURZHAVEN VESTNIK in Bulgarian 25 Oct 83 pp 1060-1064

[Decree No 29, endorsed by the Council of Ministers, 1 August 1983]

[Text] The Bulgarian people have created an original and rich material and spiritual culture during the course of their centuries of history. In this culture we see embodied our people's revolutionary traditions, its aspiration for freedom, its human rights, national independence and state sovereignty, its thirst for enlightenment and knowledge, for democracy and socialism, for shaping high moral values and respect for the cultures of other peoples. This culture has been a dependable shield for preserving national self-awareness and for maintaining the Bulgarian national feeling through the centuries.

A socialist cultural revolution has been carried out in the years of people's rule, guided by the Bulgarian Communist Party. An unprecedented blossoming of the people's material and spiritual culture has been achieved. The processes of this cultural revolution took on especially great dimensions and profundity in the years after the April Plenum of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party in 1956. It created the conditions and posited the initiative for a qualitatively new and dynamic period in the development of our socialist culture and tightly bound art and culture with the problems of creative practice, with life.

Building a developed socialist society in our country has revealed new, even greater possibilities for spiritual contributions. This not only preserves and develops the Bulgarian people's progressive traditions, which have been created through the centuries, but also increases the national self-confidence of the people as creators of spiritual values, raises the social role of artistic culture to a higher level.

The state and social organs for managing culture, and especially the Committee of Culture and the cultural councils of the people's councils, are continuously being developed and perfected. Together with the creators and the creative unions, a large circle of social and cultural activists are participating actively in their work. This allows us to raise the level of management activity in the field of culture, to be more absorbed in the scientific elaboration of the problems of the people's aesthetic education, to attain even

greater effectiveness and quality in cultural activity. Practice shows that the idea formulated by the Bulgarian Communist Party and by Comrade Todor Zhivkov personally about the implementation of the state and social initiative in the management of the cultural front is wholly justified and finds favorable ground and broad application. Now the entire leadership of culture in the country is built, in complete correspondence, on the principles of the state and social initiative.

Our socialist culture is distinctly international in its profound essence. It is enriched by the national and world cultural heritage, in accordance with the historical interests of the Bulgarian working people and the communist ideal it has accepted. Soviet culture--an inextinguishable torch of human progress--has exerted an especially beneficial influence on our proletarian and socialist culture over more than half a century. Now we are developing and broadening even more the ties and all-embracing proximity between Bulgarian and Soviet culture, between the cultural institutes and activists, fulfilling the processes of social integration with even richer contents.

After the Third Congress of Bulgarian Culture, qualitatively new changes took place in the management of various cultural processes in the Bulgarian People's Republic. The Bulgarian people will long remain conscious of the nationwide celebrations of the 1300th anniversary of the founding of the Bulgarian state, the 90th anniversary of the founding of the Bulgarian Communist Party, the 100th birthday of Georgi Dimitrov, the 25th anniversary of the April Plenum of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party. The great possibility of the nation's spiritual potential, of the artistic-creative intelligentsia, the creative unions, cultural institutions and social organizations, of the whole nation, were revealed much more fully.

The 12th Party Congress has made more concrete the tasks of culture and the conditions of building a mature socialist society as one of the basic factors in the comprehensive development of the individual and society, for the communist education of the people. Building a broad, countrywide system of elective councils of culture has transformed the party's concern for the spiritual maturation of the socialist individual from a concern of separate individuals, the family, the educational institutions and the cultural institutions into a concern of the whole society.

The objective changes and new processes in our cultural development that have been advanced are reflected in this statute.

## Chapter One: General Principles

Article 1. (1) The Committee of Culture is an elective state and social organization with the rank of a ministry and with general functional capability, which carries out the uniform party and state policy in the field of culture and manages the national complex for artistic creativity, cultural activity, and mass information media.

(2) The Committee of Culture, which combines the functions of a state organ and a social organization, carries out methodical management, coordination, and control of activity in the field of culture.

(3) The basic principles of the interrelations between the Committee of Culture with ministries, other state administrations, organs, and organizations included in the national complex for artistic creativity, cultural activity, and mass information media are defined by the Council of Ministers.

Article 2. The instructions of the Committee of Culture, published within the sphere of its competency, are obligatory for all administrations, organizations and citizens to whom they related.

Article 3. The Committee of Culture carries out its activity on the basis of democratic centralism, applying the class-party principle, the scientific and economic approach, and ensures planned management and unanimity in deciding questions of culture.

Article 4. The organs of leadership and management of Bulgarian culture are central and local. They are formed in correspondence with the state and social initiative, according to the rules defined by this statute.

Article 5. (1) The elected members of these organs of leadership and management of Bulgarian culture can be recalled before the end of their term of incumbency, when:

1. they do not justify the confidence entrusted to them;
2. they do not fulfill the obligations in a systematic way;
3. they display behavior incompatible with the requirements of a member of the Committee of Culture, at the okrug, communal (rayon) level council of culture.

(2) The resolution for recall is made at a meeting of the organ which has chosen him, by a simple majority of those present.

## Chapter Two: Establishment, Tasks, and Activities of the Central Organs for the Management of Culture

Article 6. (1) The supreme organ for the management of Bulgarian culture is the congress. The congresses of Bulgarian culture are regular and special.

(2) The congresses of Bulgarian culture are convened every 5 years, and when necessary, by the initiative of the Committee of Culture, a special congress may be called.

(3) Convocation of congresses and establishment of their daily agenda is announced at least 3 months before the date when they are held.

(4) The Committee for Culture may postpone convening a regular congress for up to 1 year, if two-thirds of its members have voted for this.

Article 7. The article of Bulgarian culture:

1. hears an account of the Committee of Culture's activity and conducts a review of the development of culture for the period just elapsed;

2. determines the main trends of future activity in the field of culture;
3. draws up and amends the Statute of the Committee of Culture;
4. elects, by secret ballot, the members of the Committee of Culture.

Article 8. In the period between the congresses, the Committee of Culture may convene national conferences for discussion and resolution of current questions on culture that have arisen.

Article 9. The norms for representation at the congresses and the national conferences, their daily agenda and the order for selecting delegates is determined by the Committee of Culture.

Article 10. (1) The Committee of Culture:

1. gives directions for the development of socialist art and other forms of artistic culture and for communist aesthetic education of the people;
2. guides and directs international cultural activity and the nationwide move to bring together Bulgarian culture with the culture of the Soviet people and the other brotherly socialist countries, as well as the progressive culture of other peoples;
3. discusses the basic principles of normative organization for the application of the economic mechanism in the field of culture;
4. makes prognoses and programs that form the basis for operative and long term planning of cultural activities;
5. elects a president, vice presidents and chief secretary of the Committee of Culture;
6. elects the governing body of the Committee of Culture, the president, vice presidents and chief secretary of the Committee of Culture are all rightfully members of this body;
7. forms coordinating councils, commissions, and other assisting organs which help in the execution of its tasks.

(2) The Committee of Culture conducts its activities in correspondence with the party resolutions, with its operative normative acts, and with this statute.

Article 11. The Committee of Culture convenes a plenum of its members at least two times annually. The meetings are considered regular if two-thirds of its members are present. Its resolutions are made by an open ballot and by a simple majority of those present.

Article 12. The mutual relations of the Committee of Culture and the leadership of the creative unions and social organizations are conducted through coordinating organs and with joint resolutions.

Article 13. The Committee of Culture accounts for its activity before the Congress of Bulgarian Writers, the National Assembly, the State Council, and the Council of Ministers.

Article 14. The governing body of the Committee of Culture:

1. organizes the execution of party resolutions, resolutions of the congresses of Bulgarian culture, and national conferences, acts of the National Assembly, State Council, and Council of Ministers, and the resolutions of the Committee of Culture;
2. observes and directs the creative processes of creating, maintaining, and propagating artistic cultural values in the areas of literature, music, the fine arts, cinematography, theatrical art;
3. directs and controls activity:
  - a) in book publishing, book distribution, polygraphy, and photography;
  - b) in film production, in the production of records and audio tapes;
  - c) in video tapes;
  - d) of cultural institutes and staffs--dramatic and opera theaters, ballet, philharmonics, orchestras, variety shows, amateur artistic collectives, and so forth;
  - e) in discovering, studying, preserving, and popularizing cultural monuments, and monuments of museum, library and reading room activity, artistic occupations, etc.;
  - f) in defending authors' rights and the import and export of printed material, artistic and other cultural values and objects;
4. convenes and prepares the plenums of the Committee of Culture;
5. endorses the programs and repertoire of cultural institutes and fosters unity in the national thematic plans in the separate fields of artistic culture;
6. convenes national conferences, elaborates and adopts plans in the separate fields of artistic culture;
7. discusses the proposals of the president, vice presidents and secretaries of the okrug councils of culture;
8. takes measures for increasing collaboration and closer cooperation with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries in the area of culture and cooperates in the realization of cultural exchange.

Article 15. The governing body of the Committee of Culture meets at least once every 2 months. Its sessions are led by the president of the Committee

of Culture, and when he is absent--by the first vice president or a representative chosen by the president. The sessions are considered regular if more than half of the governing body is present. Resolutions are made by open vote and by a simple majority of those present.

Article 15. (1) The governing body of the Committee of Culture works on the basis of annual and semiannual plans.

(2) When examining and resolving problems or separate questions in the field of culture, the governing body may involve prominent creative artists and other cultural activists.

Article 17. The president, vice presidents, and chief secretary of the governing body of the Committee of Culture form its executive body.

Article 18. The executive body of the Committee of Culture:

1. directs the current organization and executive work of the committee and aids in the governing body's activity;
2. organizes the meetings of the Committee of Culture and its governing body;
3. conducts methodic management and coordinates the activity of the ministries and other administrations and of the cultural-education institutes;
4. organizes comprehensive investigations into questions of culture, develops and aids in scientific research activity in this area, in collaboration with other scientific and cultural institutes in this country and abroad;
5. is responsible for the instruction, education, and post-graduate training of staff working in the area of culture, and manages educational institutions for art;
6. directs local, state, and social organs that manage culture;
7. directs activity in creating and perfecting the material and technical basis of culture and keeps track of its good management and full use. Ensures a unified investment policy and implementation of the achievements of scientific and technical progress in the field of culture;
8. organizes the elaboration of and approves the unified annual and 5-year draft plans and draft budgets of the Committee of Culture and its structural units;
9. periodically discusses information and other materials for executing the plans and budgets of the Committee of Culture and its structural units;
10. directs creative-productive and other socialist organizations, institutes, and other structural units in the committee's system;

11. directs the propagation and dissemination of the cultural achievements of the Bulgarian people abroad and organizes foreign cultural activity;
12. controls activity related to import and export of cultural values and defends the rights of Bulgarian and foreign authors in the territory of the Bulgarian People's Republic, as well as the rights of Bulgarian authors abroad, in accordance with the operative legislation and international agreements;
13. organizes and exercises unified and centralized control over all cultural activity in the country;
14. takes care of preserving and augmenting socialist property and directs internal administrative financial control in the committee's system;
15. jointly, with the Union of Bulgarian Journalists, informs the Council of Ministers about the work of mass information media with critical materials.

Article 19. The president of the Committee of Culture is elected as a member of the government and is freed from responsibility by the National Assembly, and when it is not in session--by the State Council, upon proposal of the Committee of Culture.

Article 20. The president of the Committee of Culture:

1. organizes the work of the governing body, the executive body, and specialized organs of the committee and chairs their meetings;
2. carries out or organizes the execution of all tasks that are assigned to him by law or by other normative acts of the National Assembly, State Council, Council of Ministers, and the resolutions which ensue from the congresses of Bulgarian culture, national conferences, and Committee of Culture;
3. represents the Committee of Culture before state and social organs and organizations, before creative unions, as well as corresponding organs of other states;
4. is accountable and responsible for his activity, and the activity of the committee he leads, to the National Assembly, State Council, Council of Ministers, congress of Bulgarian culture, and the plenum of the Committee of Culture;
5. allocates credits in the budget of the payroll in the sphere of its competency, as defined by the Council of Ministers, as well as the committee's creative fund.

Article 21. The vice presidents and chief secretary guide and control the activity of the structural units of the Committee of Culture and execute tasks assigned to them by the governing body, executive body, and the president of the Committee of Culture.



Article 22. The coordinating and the other councils are constantly operative organs of the Committee of Culture and help it in executing its tasks. Their structure, tasks, and activity are organized with the regulations and ordinances adopted by them and approved by the president of the Committee of Culture.

### Chapter Three: Establishment, Tasks, and Activity of the Local Organs

Article 23. (1) The governing organ of all cultural activity in the territory of the okrugs and of the commune is the report and election conference. It is convened by the corresponding council of culture every 2 and 1/2 years.

(2) At the report and election conference, a review is conducted and the activity of the territorial culture complexes and the councils of culture for the elapsed period is recounted, resolutions for future activity are made, and new councils are elected.

(3) The okrug conferences choose delegates to the congress for Bulgarian culture, and the communal (rayon)--for the okrug conferences.

(4) The Committee of Culture determines the convocation of report and election conferences and the draft of their daily agenda.

Article 24. (1) Councils of culture, which are the single state and social specialized organs of the Committee of Culture and the corresponding people's councils, are created to manage, coordinate, organize, and control cultural activity in the okrugs and communes (rayons).

(2) By resolution of the governing body of the Committee for Culture, councils of culture may be formed in certain large industrial regions and at construction sites of national importance, as well as at other larger sites. The governing body determines their rank.

(3) In villages with town councils, the cultural activity is carried out under the auspices of the people's reading rooms as the single, comprehensive centers for culture and communist aesthetic education of the people and the youth.

Article 25. (1) The councils of culture are elected at the okrug and communal (rayon) conferences by secret ballot. By decision of the conference, the election could also be by open ballot.

(2) The councils of culture report on their activity to these conferences, to the Committee of Culture, and corresponding people's council.

Article 26. The okrug councils of culture:

1. direct all the cultural activity in the territory of the okrug and develop the state and social initiative in all areas of culture;



2. carry out general methodical guidance and control over the activity of the communal council of culture and help it in its work;
3. work on the organizational strengthening of the people's reading rooms and on turning them into comprehensive centers for communist aesthetic education;
4. coordinate and control the activity of cultural institutes and institutions independent of their administrative subordination, as well as implementing all cultural measures on the territory of the corresponding okrug;
5. elaborate the programs and plans for the development of culture, coordinate them with the Committee of Culture, and propose them for adoption by the okrug people's council;
6. make proposals at the okrug people's council for ensuring the necessary means in the combined budget of the okrug, for the execution of the measures foreseen in the plans of the okrug and communal councils of culture and the units directed by them;
7. distribute the needs foreseen for cultural activity in the okrug and conduct and control their effective use;
8. organize the conduct of the okrug report and election conference on culture;
9. ensure good management and full use of the material and technical basis of the entire activity in the field of culture on its territory, and takes care of its development and perfection.

Article 27. Artistic-creative and other organs for control and coordination in commissioning artistic activity and cultural construction will be created at the okrug councils of culture on social initiatives.

Article 28. The communal (rayon) councils of culture:

1. organize, manage, and control cultural activity on the communal territory;
2. lead the immediate activity of the people's reading rooms, libraries, museums, museum collections, amateur activity;
3. coordinate the comprehensive development, effective use of the material and technical basis of culture;
4. take care of investigation, preservation, and popularization of cultural monuments;
5. organize the conduct or communal (rayon) report and election conferences on culture.

Article 29. The management councils of the people's reading rooms directly guide the activity of the reading rooms in villages with town councils, in close collaboration with social and political organizations, educational institutions, economic and other socialist organizations.

Article 30. The councils of culture are convened for meetings at least three times per year. These meetings are considered regular if more than half of the members attend. Resolutions are made by a simple majority of those present.

Article 31. The resolutions of the okrug councils of culture, published in the sphere of their competency, are binding for state, social organs and organizations, creative and executive groups, and separate executors to whom they apply.

Article 32. (1) The councils of culture, after agreement with the president of the Committee of Culture, elect a governing body with the following officers: president, vice president, secretary, and members.

(2) The presidents of the okrug councils of culture have the rank of department chief at the okrug people's council, and the presidents of the communal (rayon) councils of culture--the rank of section chief at the communal (rayon) people's council.

(3) The rank of the vice presidents of the executive committee of the corresponding people's council may be given to the presidents of the okrug and communal (rayon) councils of culture, including those elected on social principles.

Article 33. The governing body of the council of culture:

1. prepares for and convenes meetings of the council of culture;
2. guides and controls the work of the organs directly subordinate to the councils of culture;
3. conducts coordination between groups of creative unions, social organizations, cultural and other institutes in their activity in creating and propagating cultural values and satisfying cultural needs.
4. creates standing assisting organs at the corresponding councils of culture to carry out organizational methodical, cultural-educational, executive, and financial-economic activity, in correspondence with the structures and the payroll norms, and endorses the regulations for their work.

Article 34. The governing body of the council of culture is called to meeting by the president no less than twice per month.

Article 35. (1) The president of the council of culture organizes and directs the work of the governing body, represents the council before state and social organs and organizations and creative unions, and is responsible for the entire activity of the council.

(2) The vice presidents and the secretary directly aid the president in organizing the work of the council and the governing body and, by decision of the governing body, are responsible for certain activities of the council.

#### Concluding Ordinances

1. This statute is accepted by the Third Congress of Bulgarian Culture, which took place on 18, 19, and 20 May 1977 in Sofia, and is amended and enlarged by the Fourth Congress, which took place on 25, 26, and 27 May 1983 in Sofia.
2. The Committee of Culture will issue regulations, ordinances, and instructions for applying this statute, in correspondence with its competency.

12334

CSO: 2200/37

LOW STATUS OF MEDICAL DOCTORS DESCRIBED

Doctors Considered Underpaid

Sofia OTECHSTVEN FRONT in Bulgarian 9 Dec 83 p 4

[Article by Zhivka Shamlieva: "'I've Got You in My Pocket, Doctor!'" ]

[Text] There are quite a few people who could address such a provocative remark to a doctor. It is supplemented by the words of a soccer player I overheard: "Only the old women in the neighborhood say 'bravo' to you when you measure their blood pressure..." (!).

I thought, involuntarily, that the radio and television devoted quite a few minutes to his splendid goal, and the press even printed a generous number of lines, although he might turn out to be mediocre in the following match. Fatal duels with death, however, at the end of which a dedicated doctor returns the light of a human life, remain unknown.

The other day, the line at a fruit and vegetable stand respectfully gave priority to one of our youngest big-city actors, who explained that he was in a hurry to get to the studio, where he was making his next film. The people there were kind of flattered to be so close to him and by the gesture they were able to make for him. Next in line was a doctor. Not so young, not in good health, but still working. An excellent surgeon from whom his young colleagues learn how to tie surgical loom..." So, just when the grocery clerk was supposed to serve him, she said: "Stop!" She had to exchange some wooden crates. The man asked kindly, he was just returning from night duty. She shouted, and so did the people in line. They knew, however, who he was and what he did. "I'm not going to make any exceptions. Why don't you lift crates if you want to be served quickly!" The reaction of the others was outrageous: "I'm not going to give up my place for a doctor. They don't deserve it (all of them?). We waste so much time waiting for them outside their offices...White mafia(!)..."

They hinted at private profit. I thought about the large army of healthy young men who hide themselves in attics and basements and, with only several hours of easy labor, they make thousands of leva, together with the clever agents who market their products. They create extremely "necessary" hairpins with pendants and little flowers, plastic pink panthers, cowboy figurines, and all kinds of kitsch, with which they "decorate" our lives.

In order to calm down those citizens standing in line who were so upset about doctors' profits, I would like to put forth several figures. For 1 hour of work, at the normal monthly rate, a doctor receives a lev and 8 stotinkas. And for 1 hour of operating work, a surgeon is paid...90 stotinkas (!). For this amount, he often holds in his hands a human life. And the way he holds it determines whether the person lying on the operating table will get up again at all. There are operations, moreover, that last 4 to 5 hours.

The gravity and responsibility inherent in each kind of labor increase its value. There is no such thing when it comes to doctors. Whether he performs a heart operation or sews a skin break, the operation has the same material cost. One polyclinic doctor is paid...10 leva for 12 hours service on duty (I do not know if everyone could imagine the waste of physical and psychic energy related to this kind of work for this amount of time). The other day, an electrical specialist, a young lad, also asked for 10 leva--in 15-20 minutes he changed a stove burner that I had bought myself. He told me: "It would be a shame to ask for less, anything below a 10-leva note doesn't count..."

Because we are talking about doctors, I do not mean that all of them are examples of perfection. But where does this discontent with all doctors come from, why does it arise? Perhaps because we indeed know too little, or we do not want to know about the specific character of their work.

Not too long ago, a group of drunken people, who had reached the stage of recklessness, decided to do something for fun. They called the doctor on duty at the rayon outpatient department about an "urgent case." Unlike the taxi service, one can almost always count on a doctor responding. The woman climbed all 11 stories. The merry company of this "urgent case" met her with a glass of champagne and invited her to go on a spree because "...life is short but sweet." Shocked by their insolence, the woman doctor, out of breath from the climb, filled with indignation, said: "You are criminals! There is a human being suffering somewhere at this moment, and I should have gone there urgently!" Those merry young people got quite offended by this. Although their brains were dulled by alcohol, they took quite to heart the word "criminals." The doctor could barely escape their revenge, thanks only to the people from the next apartment.

It is true; who else could we call so irresponsibly in the middle of the night? And this is not only because of the specific nature of a doctor's work and duties, but also because of something else: the explicit and implicit lack of respect in the statement: "I've got you in my pocket, doctor!"

There was a Bulgarian film called "Surgeons." A talented Bulgarian actor marvelously created the image of a modest and worthy representative of the medical profession. He succeeded in awakening in the audience the somewhat dormant respect and recognition for his highly humane role in our lives. A doctor does not always enjoy this kind of respect. I accidentally found out that the actor had received, for his role, an amount equal to what an operating surgeon receives for approximately 2 years of work. During this time he performs successful operations. During this time he performs no less than 500 operations, with all their fatal risks and fateful endings. Why not then appreciate his art according to merit, too?

The last thing our doctor could be accused of is a desire for profit. On the contrary! The question of remunerating the Bulgarian doctor for his labor is being considered as a result of the comprehensive concern about raising the level of our health care. This will contribute not only to his material and moral uplift, but will also raise his self-sufficiency. And the Bulgarian doctor deserves this!

#### Medical Workers Express Views

Sofia OTECHESTVEN FRONT in Bulgarian 9 Dec 83 p 4

[Survey of statements from various members of the health care profession by Margarita Dimitrova: "A Report in Six Words"]

[Text] If you happen to meet them on the street, you would hardly distinguish them from the other citizens of our country. Although rarely, they do meet their former patients: after saying briefly, "Hello, doctor," they hurriedly go their way. They do not feel offended by this because their unwritten rule is: "To love people more than oneself!"

[Dr Aleksandur Belovski] Once, when I was a younger doctor, 25 or 26 years old, if I happened to walk on the hospital's paths, people much older than I, in their 60's or 70's, used to get up from the benches, take their hats off, and say: "Good day, doctor!" and wait standing until I passed by. Nowadays, I have the impression that people much younger than me ask questions about the condition of their health for 20 or 30 minutes, and during this time I am the one who stands and listens to them. I leave it up to you to decide how respected our profession is!

[Dr Konstantin Kachev] In order to be currently informed about the most progressive achievements and avoid falling behind as a specialist, one constantly has to absorb new information. And his success as a doctor depends on his skill in implementing this information in practice. Science moves forward and in order to be able to keep up with it, one has not only to read a lot, but work a lot as well. And as far as his attitude toward the patient is concerned, it is determined neither by his diploma nor by his external appearance, that is, not by his intentional attitude but by his ability to read people's hearts, a person with whom patients would feel as comfortable as with a father confessor, if you will.

[Boyka Naydenova, registered nurse] One has to love people in order to be with them during their most difficult moments. And they should believe you. Maybe that is why, a very long time ago, they used to be called "sisters of mercy." This profession is not for technical executives. It needs a life force that will not leave you. We have to eliminate every fear that the patient might have concerning his condition, to assure him as quickly as possible of an auspicious outcome.

[Dr Rumyana Nesheva] People know very little about us and the everyday difficulties borne by our profession. However, these things cannot be displayed or understood unless they have been experienced with one's heart.

[Ivanka Elenkova, orderly] My work does not bother me. On the contrary--it gives me pleasure, although patients see orderlies as being at almost the lowest level of hospital personnel. I am personally proud of my profession. I try hard to treat the patients with understanding and patience. It sometimes happens that we have to feed someone we do not know. You know that in a few weeks you will not see this unknown person again, and yet you get used to him and you begin to take care of him as you would with someone close to you.

[Margarita Zhelyazkova, laboratory assistant] Generally speaking, the work of a laboratory assistant is interesting. It is like research activity. A laboratory assistant helps in determining the exact diagnosis and in following up with the condition of the patient afterward. We are, however, often forgotten, not only by the patients but by the hospital departments' collectives as well. However, all patients and all hospital departments have to pass through here, through the laboratory, from the moment of admission to the discharge.

[Dr Nikolay Khashumov] During recent years, medicine has made incredible progress in the treatment of lung diseases. In Bulgaria the sick rate has decreased by a factor of 30. The patient is diagnosed within 3 to 7 days. Each patient is acquainted with his condition in order to avoid superfluous fear, stress, and an exhausted nervous system.

[Dr Nikolay Petrov] At the beginning of his professional path, a doctor begins his long service on duty, which deprives him of personal time and peace from his first to his last working day. He has to give a report to his own conscience and to the people on a daily basis. He is called on by thousands of waiting patients, he assists at the births of babies and helps to keep them well, as if they were his own. You have the feeling that all of your patients are your own relatives. All this fills you with strength during sleepless nights. The relationship between a patient and a doctor is something very complex: every time you meet them you read in their eyes: "Will you do everything possible for me, doctor?..."

And when after many years you see the last day of your service on duty, you write your report, as if you were on duty in a hospital, with six new words: "I served with all my heart!..."

12334

CSO: 2200/55



## BRIEFS

NEW NATIONAL ASSEMBLY DEPUTY--A by-election for a National Assembly deputy has been held at Sofia's district No 296. Radenko Grigorov Zakhariev was elected National Assembly deputy to replace the deceased deputy Filip Filipov. [Text] [AU111819 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 7 Dec 83 p 2]

KOREAN HEALTH PROTOCOL--Georgi Karamanov, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers and chairman of the Bulgarian side of the Consultative Committee for economic and scientific-technical questions between the Governments of Bulgaria and of the DPRK, received yesterday the delegation of the DPRK Ministry of Public Health, headed by Minister Academician Pak Myong-pin. They discussed issues concerning the further expansion of cooperation between the two countries in the sector of health protection and medical science. Radoy Popivanov, minister of national health, and Vasil Khubehev, Bulgaria's ambassador to the DPRK, attended the talk. Radoy Popivanov and Minister Pak Myong-pin signed a cooperation protocol for the 1984-85 period between the Bulgarian and DPRK health ministries. [Text] [AU111819 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 3 Dec 83 p 5]

TANCHEV TO ARGENTINE INAUGURATION--At the invitation of the Argentine Government, an official Bulgarian delegation led by Petur Tanchev, first deputy chairman of the State Council, has left for Buenos Aires to attend the celebrations on the occasion of the inauguration of the new Argentine president, Raul Alfonsin. [Text] [AU111819 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 2030 GMT 6 Dec 83]

CPCZ DELEGATION MEETS DOYNOV--Comrade Ognyan Doynov has received a CPCZ working group led by Jiri Poslt, deputy director of the Industrial Department at the CPCZ Central Committee. Information on the party work in the industrial enterprises was exchanged and issues of the cooperation between the two parties were discussed. [Summary] [AU111819 [Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 2030 GMT 9 Dec 83]

TRADE PROTOCOL WITH CSSR--A protocol on expanding the 1984 trade between Bulgaria and the CSSR in the sphere of domestic trade was signed in Sofia today. Georgi Karamanov, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers and minister of internal trade and public services, attended the signing ceremony. The protocol was signed by Khristaki Kunev, first deputy minister of internal trade, and by Bartolomej Kriak, Slovak minister of trade. [Summary] [AU111819 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1000 GMT 9 Dec 83]



BTA-MONTSAME AGREEMENT--Ulaanbaatar, 6 December (BTA special correspondent)--A cooperation agreement between the Bulgarian Telegraph Agency and the Mongolian News Agency [MONTSAME] with the State Information, Radio and Television Committee of Mongolia, was signed here. The document was signed by Mr Nencho Khranov, deputy director general of BTA and by Mr Lhagvajavyn Zantav [spelling as received], chairman of the State Information, Radio and Television Committee. The chief aim of the agreement is through activating and enriching all forms of exchange of information to cooperate to the mutual making familiar with the life and achievements of the two countries, for further development of the fraternal cooperation between Bulgaria and Mongolia. The BTA delegation was received by Mr Gelegiyn Adya, secretary of the CC of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party. [Text] [AU111819 Sofia BTA in English 1313 GMT 6 Dec 83]

TSANOV VISITS FRG--Bonn 16 December (BTA)--From 12 through 16 December, Mr Vasil Tsanov, secretary of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party, paid a working visit to the Federal Republic of Germany, and had talks there with representatives of the Ministry of Agriculture in Bonn and of West German firms of the food and the tobacco industry and farm machine-building. Among the topics on the agenda were the development of bilateral trade and the possibilities for cooperation between the two countries in the sphere of agriculture. The talks were attended also by the chairman of the National Agro-Industrial Union, Mr Aleksandur Petkov. [Text] [AU161452 Sofia BTA in English 1443 GMT 16 Dec 83]

BRITISH LIBERAL PARTY LEADERS--London 17 December (BTA correspondent)--On Thursday a meeting was held here of the secretary of the Bulgarian Agrarian Union, Mr Petur Tanchev, first vice president of the State Council, with the leader of the Liberal Party, Mr David Steel. The British party to the talks included also the president of the party, Lord Tordoff, the spokesman of the party at the Parliament on foreign policy and defence, Mr Russel Jonston, and the chairman of the Scottish organization of the party, Lord Macee of Benshi, who is its spokesman at the chamber of the Lords on Agrarian and Scottish matters. The talks centered on the expansion of ties between the Bulgarian Agrarian Union and the Liberal Party in favour of the promotion of all-round relations between the two countries. The participants in the meeting expressed great alarm over the intensified arms nuclear race which has recently increased to an unprecedented level and hides grave consequences for mankind. It was stressed in that respect that the two parties will work for increased cooperation between the agrarian, liberal and democratic parties in the world, for the assertion of the policy of peace and detente, for the averting of the thermo-nuclear catastrophe. [Spelling of all British names as received] [Text] [AU171445 Sofia BTA in English 0840 GMT 17 Dec 83]

CULTURAL AGREEMENT WITH FRANCE--Paris 24 December (BTA correspondent)--An exchange and cooperation plan between Bulgaria and France in the sphere of education, science and culture for the 1984-1987 period was signed here. The document is the result of the 3-day sittings of the Bulgaro-French Cultural Cooperation Commission. Alongside with the traditional contacts and the joint initiatives in the sphere of education, scientific exchange and culture, youth and sport, the plan envisages the organizing of days of the Bulgarian culture and a week of the Bulgarian films in France in 1984, exchange of photoexhibitions, scientific seminars and colloquims. [Text] [AU241816 Sofia BTA in English 0840 GMT 24 Dec 83]

EDUCATION PROTOCOL WITH IRAQ--Baghdad 23 December (BTA)--A protocol on cooperation in the sphere of culture and education between Iraq and Bulgaria was signed in Baghdad yesterday on the 1981-1986 period. The document provides for exchange of information, delegations, teachers and specialists. The two sides will grant scholarships to each other's students. [Text] [AU241816 Sofia BTA in English 1420 GMT 23 Dec 83]

RCP DELEGATION SEES STANISHEV--Comrade Dimitur Stanishev has received an RCP Central Committee delegation led by Nicolae Mihai, deputy chief of the Department for International Relations and International Economic Cooperation at the RCP Central Committee, which has paid an working and friendly visit to Bulgaria. [Text] [AU241816 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1800 GMT 23 Dec 83]

PROTOCOL WITH SOVIET GEORGIA--Georgi Karamanev, minister of domestic trade and public services and deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, and Merab Musayevich Kadzhaya, Georgian SSR minister of trade, have signed a protocol on the talks they held. It is expected that in 1984 trade of mass consumer goods between Bulgaria and the Georgian SSR will be greatly intensified. [Text] [AU241816 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 17 Dec 83]

ARMY IDEOLOGICAL MEETING--A meeting on ideological work opened yesterday at the Central Army Club in Sofia and was attended by basic ideological cadres of the Bulgarian People's Army. Major General Ivan Stefanov, deputy head of the People's Army's Main Political Administration, gave a lecture on the contemporary military-political and ideological situation and on the tasks of further improving quality and efficiency in ideological work, as well as on the contribution of ideological instruction to the improvement of the soldiers' combat readiness. Following this, Major General Nikolay Vasilievich Shapalin, deputy head of the Soviet Army's and Navy's Main Political Administration, briefed the participants in the meeting on ideological activities within the Soviet Army and on the implementation of the decisions adopted at the June 1983 plenum of the CPSU Central Committee. [Summary] [AU241816 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 20 Dec 83 p 3]

PALIN-LED DELEGATION VISITS PDRY--Aden 26 December (BTA)--A delegation of the CC of the BCP, led by Colonel General Velko Palin, member of the CC of the BCP and head of the "Military-Administrative" Department of the CC of the BCP, was on a visit in the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen [PDRY]. The delegation was received by the Secretary General of the CC of the Yemen Socialist Party, chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme People's Council and chairman of the Ministerial Council of the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen, Mr 'Ali Nasir Muhammad, and by the members of the Politburo of the CC of the Yemen Socialist Party, Mr Abu Bakr Badib [spelling as received] and Mr Salih Munahar as Sili [spelling as received]. The delegation had talks with the Minister of Defence of the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen, Major General Salih Muslih Gasim, with the chairman of the National Leadership of the organization of the committees for national defence, Mr Suleyman Nasser Mohammed [spelling as received], and with the Minister of Internal Affairs of the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen, Major Mohammed Abdullah El Buthani [spelling as received]. Experience in the field of party and political work in the respective state bodies was exchanged. [Text] [AU261921 Sofia BTA in English 1832 GMT 26 Dec 83]

VLADIMIR ZHIVKOV POST--All Bulgarian dailies of 16 December report a 15 December meeting of the Soviet writer Sergey Mikhalkov with Sofia's public, on the occasion of the publication of one of his books in Bulgarian. RABOTNICHESKO DELO, on 16 December, in a 800-word report on page five notes that "Sergey Mikhalkov expressed his willingness to contribute the royalties from the sales of his book in Bulgaria to T'Lyudmila Zhivkova' International Foundation, and expressed the hope that other foreign writers will do the same." The same newspaper reports that the meeting was attended by "Vladimir Zhivkov, deputy chairman of the Committee on Culture and general director of the 'Banner of Peace' Center." Vienna bureau has no previous record of Vladimir Zhivkov being appointed deputy chairman of the Committee on Culture. [Editorial Report] [AU191341]

CSO: 2200/57

## MINISTER URGES PROSECUTION OF ECONOMIC CRIME

Bratislava NOVE SLOVO in Slovak No 46, 27 Oct 83 p 2

[Lecture by Jan Pjescak, SSR minister of justice, broadcast in the series "Living Words" by Czechoslovak radio on 16 October 1983: "Law, Legality, Justice"]

[Text] I want to speak today about justice, law, legality.

Antiquity put law and laws on the pedestal of the highest honors and identified them with the supreme expressions of wisdom and justice. "Fiat justitia, pereat mundus"--let justice be done, even if the entire world should perish. The ancient Romans used this lofty slogan in extolling the justice of Roman laws precisely at the time when the debauching Romans were throwing slaves to rapacious beasts in the Colosseum amphitheater just out of pleasure in order to satisfy their perverse lust. And perhaps precisely at this moment a Roman sculptor was hewing into marble a figure of a blindfolded woman of antiquity holding scales as the symbol of inviolable justice as represented by the Roman laws and Roman judiciary. What a cruel paradox as well as derision of the justice of the Roman judiciary! And how many times has this been repeated in the human history?

Fiat justitia...law must be upheld. Yes law was upheld, justice of laws and courts was declared, celebrated as a sacred category of morality, as the ethos of moral consciousness of the society, but the blood of innocent people has flowed in streams throughout human history, and the unfortunate victims tried and sentenced in its name have perished in thousands and millions.

Even today thousands of people are dying in various parts of the capitalist world in the name of protection of so-called justice, capitalist rule and its economic basis--private ownership, different privileges and nationalist or racist vestiges.

Following the liberation of our fatherland by the Soviet army, many progressive laws were passed because of the immense effort, influence and authority of the CPCZ. However, only the historic victory of our working people in February 1948 created the prerequisites for the revolutionary reorganization of our legal system on really democratic foundations reflecting real social justice for all inhabitants of Czechoslovakia.

The new socialist judiciary, however, came into being only after the passage of law No 319/1948 of the Sbirka [Code of Laws] on participation of judges from the ranks of people which made them members of judicial senates 35 years ago. Making the representatives of people members of the judiciary was a decisive revolutionary step because it turned the tool of class injustice and oppression which served the narrow, predatory interests of the minority into a really socialist, democratic tool designed to protect the accomplishments of the national and democratic revolution, to protect and develop socialism, to defend the rights and justified interests of the working people. Section 1 of the Penal Code describes this appropriately: the purpose of the Penal Code is to safeguard the social and state system, rights and justified interests of citizens, to develop in them the spirit toward the proper performance of civic duties and observance of rules of social coexistence.

Our working people meet their civic and work obligations, respect and intensify socialist social relations, observe socialist legality, understand the inevitability and significance of increasing the moral and legal regulation of the socialist society. Unfortunately, not all of us have acquired these moral features and qualities of socialist people. There are still individuals among us to whom honest work is alien, who do not respect any laws, who do not detest financial speculation for its own benefit, who commit offenses against property, pilfer property in socialist ownership. For example, the cashier of the Slovak State Saving Bank at Povazska Bystrica embezzled Kcs 1,892,000 within a year and a half. Only recently, the kraj court at Banská Bystrica tried a group of citizens, management personnel in subsidiary production of JRD [unified agricultural cooperatives] and physical education organizations who, by charging for fictitious construction work and wages even for so-called dead souls, enriched themselves with Kcs 2,166,000. And these are not unique instances. This type of crime constitutes a very serious antisocial activity. It also significantly violates the principle of social justice on which our political system is based. For all these reasons, the Letter of the Presidium of the CPCZ Central Committee directs the attention of all of us to the intensification of the struggle against the violation of principles of socialist legality, morality and discipline. It reflects the clear and uncompromising attitude of our party and government toward these negative phenomena.

Many citizens ask how it is possible to carry on such criminal activities without punishment. The experience of courts demonstrates that this occurs primarily in those socialist organizations where the protection of socialist property is on a low level, where managing units and structures do not function properly, where the organization management does not set an example in defending the interests of the entire society. Some criminal acts give the impression that our socialist laws are not in effect behind the gates of these industrial plans and organizations.

No, man is not born a parasite, a speculator, a maker of "shortages" [mankar], a ruthless profiteer or pilferer. He becomes such precisely in the workplaces of those enterprises where there are no consistent checks, no accurate and lucid records; where a critical attitude toward shortcomings, violation of work discipline, law, justice and socialist legality failed to develop; where

irresponsibility, megalomania of management personnel and harmful indifference of some people persist.

Honest people ask, with justification, where the communists, trade unionists, members of the Czechoslovak Youth Federation in these enterprises are and what they are doing. What are the party organizations which, according to the statutes, have the right to control enterprise management doing? How is it possible that such criminal activity can be going on before their eyes? Why are these people more afraid of nameless people than of their bosses and fellow workers? Those people are right who maintain that no, not even the cleverest delinquent could engage in criminal activity, even for 24 hours, if he were watched by the attentive and critical eyes of coworkers, of the work collective and CPSL and ROH [Revolutionary Trade Union Movement] factory organizations. This precisely constitutes the basis of the strategy of our struggle against this type of criminal activity.

After all, we have thousands of industrial plants where such practices are impossible, where the management itself copes with potential shortcomings and manifestations of flagging work discipline and which for years have had nothing to do with courts, police and the general prosecutor. Such conditions should eventually exist in all plants, in all our organizations.

Our socialist judiciary also wages a relentless and uncompromising struggle against crime by properly investigating criminal acts and punishing their perpetrators justly according to law. By its actions it contributes to the consolidation of socialist legality, prevention and elimination of crime, to the education of citizens in the spirit of consistent observance of laws and rules of socialist coexistence and honorable fulfillment of obligations toward the state and society. But not only that. According to Section 1 of the Penal Code, it is the right and also the duty of citizens and mass organizations to help achieve this goal.

This is the essence and significance of our justice, socialist law, socialist legality. For these reasons, the first part of that Roman adage: "Fiat justitia"--law must be upheld--applies also to our conditions. Our socialist laws as the expression of the will of the working people must prevail if we want to move forward, and the culprits must be justly punished whenever they violate them.

10501

CSO: 2400/81



PEZLAR'S SPEECH TO CSSR SOCIALIST ACADEMY

Bratislava NOVE SLOVO in Slovak No 44, 3 Nov 83 p 12

[Speech by Ludovit Pezlar, Presidium member and secretary, CPSL Central Committee: "For Higher Effectiveness of Ideological and Political-Educational Work"]

[Text] The process of building a developed socialist society puts higher demands on the level of education and socialist consciousness of all strata of society. This creates new and complex prerequisites also for the further activity of each and every social organization.

The main task of the Socialist Academy now is to increase its share in systematically in building a developed socialist society, especially in the realization of the basic strategic tasks, namely, to achieve through a multifaceted intensification of our economy a high effectiveness of social production and greatly improve the quality of labor in all sectors of social life.

In connection with the implementation of the program adopted at the 16th CPCZ Congress, the terminology we use is increasingly enriched by the term "to uncover and utilize potentials." No doubt, this term has its own justification as long as we do not use it to cover up for the existing shortcomings which are often quite obvious. We can hardly counteract the fact that people are late for work, that they work in a slipshod way or that they do not understand and fail to meet their responsibilities as potential for higher-quality management. These are pure and simple facts which no responsible manager should view as incidental. He should view these facts as his own failure which he ought to have corrected a long time ago. From this viewpoint of the strategic tasks our society is facing, we must strive to make use of those potentials which could be utilized for the acceleration of the dynamics of our society's development. These include better organization of labor, the application of new and effective approaches and systems, the speedy introduction of science and technology into practice, the conservation of energy, raw materials, materials, and many other important facts. Such potentials can be found in every sector of social life. We can work in a new way and more effectively in all spheres. All this also applies to the activity of the Socialist Academy.

The result of the Eighth Plenum of the CPCZ Central Committee, which were adapted to Slovakia at the September meeting of the CPSL Central Committee, have a great significance for the fulfillment of the program adopted at the 16th CPCZ Congress. We cannot implement the overall intensification of the national economy without a basic change in our attitude toward science and technology and especially their application in practice. We are not talking about a one-shot campaign but about a long-term program which must become a priority for party, state, economic and social organs and organizations.

What is the main thrust in our approach toward science and technology and their role in social development? The first secretary of the CPSL, Comrade Jozef Lenart, summed up very well the new tasks in this respect when he stated: "Our goal is to change the relatively narrow path represented by scientific and technical development into a broad highway for a fast, mass and uninterrupted application of the most recent results of science and technology. This is a revolutionary task of our time; this is a key to a new development of the economy and the entire society."

When we talk about the significance and application of science in our social life, we have in mind an entire complex of problems. It is also necessary to be aware that science, technology, quality and effectiveness are closely related to world view, morality and the conscience of each and every human being. Real value orientation, the ideological ability and political maturity of the people, especially of managers, are manifested in their attitude toward these important questions.

In connection with the decline of our economy's rate of development in the first 2 years of the Seventh 5-Year Plan, bourgeois propaganda started to allege that Czechoslovakia is in an economic recession. This is a very transparent maneuver showing the unconscionable twisting of facts. Within the framework of our orientation toward overall intensification, the percentage increase in a given sector of the economy is not important. What is important are the qualitative results of its operation. Bourgeois propagandists in this way cunningly use the old, quantitative criteria in evaluating our economic development. The decisions of the 16th CPCZ Congress are based not on percentages but on the qualitative changes in economic development. The basic task during the first 2 years of the current 5-Year Plan was to bring our economy closer to new domestic and external conditions.

We have never hidden the fact that we have encountered certain economic difficulties and problems. This is related primarily to the inconsistent implementation of the line adopted at the 16th CPCZ Congress aiming at high effectiveness and quality. As the results in the development of our national economy this year show, we are witnessing a gradual turn toward higher effectiveness even if the latter is still behind our possibilities and needs. There are prerequisites to fulfill the Seventh 5-Year Plan in its main indices.

The implementation of the program determined at the Eighth Plenum of the CPCZ Central Committee and adjusted to Slovak conditions at the September plenum of the CPSL Central Committee is very demanding, too, because we must



systematically overcome a barrier formed by incorrect views, moods and attitudes. Efforts to apply science and technology, to achieve high effectiveness and quality require a decisive ideological and political struggle which greatly affects the conscience of the people as well as their interests and human relations in working collectives. It is no accident that one of the most pressing tasks of the present time which comes more and more to the fore is the elaboration of the theory of the working collectives and the practical mastering of their activity. The working collectives must be the ones to become the center of the struggle for science and technology.

The struggle for high quality and effectiveness is unthinkable without a basic improvement in the level of all managing processes, including strengthening the responsibility of managers. It is also obvious that the efforts for scientific and technical development must be inseparably connected to the strengthening of labor and technological discipline. As shown in our investigations carried out by party and state control organs, the main reason for the bad quality of our products is the failure to observe technological discipline. Even the most modern machines will not bring about the desired effect if the workplace is plagued by bad organization of labor, a low level of labor and technological discipline, bad human relations, violations of the principle of remuneration according to merit, and many other shortcomings.

The tasks which the 15th Plenum of the CPCZ Central Committee and the April plenum of the CPSL Central Committee held in 1980 determined for the sector of ideological and political-educational work of party, state and social organizations have permanent validity and we must continue to pay great attention to their implementation. They lead to the development of efforts for the better effectiveness of the entire ideological front in the process of the communist education of our citizens. Regretably, we must admit that in certain sectors of our social life, especially in the arts, the results of the above-mentioned plenums have been insufficiently implemented in practice. Somehow they are being forgotten, although they should be the base for critique of the arts.

We expect that our artists too will contribute to the fulfillment of the demanding tasks stemming from building advanced socialism, especially by artistically formulating the present process of the historic changes in our country and concentrating on the main bearer of these changes--the working man. In this respect it is necessary to do a lot to overcome incorrect tendencies which consider as art only that which is remote from the present, from the problems of contemporary life, from the life of the working people. In the realization of these tasks stemming from the program of the 16th CPCZ Congress and the resolutions of the CPSL Congress we expect effective help from the scientific-methodical councils and the entire board of lecturers of the Socialist Academy.

The key to better effectiveness of ideological and political-educational work is its closer relationship with the life of society, with the activity of the party, a consistent application of the principle of unity between

theory and practice, a systematic improvement of its scientificity and a determined struggle against formalism and pragmatism. In this respect the Socialist Academy has achieved significant results especially in improving the quality of work of lecturers. However, it is impossible not to see that we have failed to eliminate such shortcomings as verbalism, insufficient preparation, the unjustified shortening of lectures and other abuses in the work of lecturers. Much can be improved if the lecturers react more effectively to concrete problems of the working collective in which they work. Scientific and often pseudoscientific sentences separated from real life and from practice turn the listeners off. Each lecture, seminar or other presentation must consistently be based on the most recent results of the natural and social sciences. High quality of work by our lecturers is a priority.

As experience shows, insufficiently prepared presentation and their low quality have in political-educational work a result opposite that expected: it does not arouse the people but, on the contrary, turns them off. "The workers of the ideological front must be aware that ideological work cannot be done routinely. It must have a lively and creative character and must be able to appeal to reason and the heart of man," Comrade Gustav Husak stated at the 16th Congress. These words remain topical even today and oblige us consistently to improve the methods of our political-educational work.

The results of the June plenum of the CPSU Central Committee concerning the topical questions of ideological and political-educational work are a significant source of ideas for our entire ideological front. Although our society finds itself in a different stage of social development--in a process of building a developed socialist--the overwhelming part of notions and theoretical generalizations at which the Soviet communists have arrived has a character of common tasks. Even in our conditions the words of Ju. Y. Andropov that "ideological, educational and propaganda work must be decisively raised to the level of the great and complex tasks that the party is solving..." have full validity in our country. The significance of the June plenum of the CPSU Central Committee is emphasized by the fact that the plenum solved the basic problems of social development which exceed the framework of ideological work and touch on the prospects of not only the Soviet society but also the entire world socialist community. A characteristic feature of this meeting of Soviet communists was its ability to deal with these problems realistically, with common sense and strictly scientifically. We firmly believe that in your work, especially in the efforts to improve the quality of your activities, you will draw fully on the experience of this meeting of Soviet communists.

Demanding tasks stemming from building developed socialism require that we continue to improve the level of economic education, agitation and propaganda. The task of economic agitation and propaganda at this time is to assist systematically in the implementation of scientific and technical progress, contribute to socialist economic integration, especially to a multifaceted development of economic cooperation with the Soviet Union,

participate in the realization of the program of electronization, robotization, application of microprocessors, application of new technologies and similar programs. It is necessary to emphasize the implementation aspect of the above measures. Their propagation without any attention to their introduction into practice would be useless and would lead to unnecessary waste of manpower and energy.

At present the anticommunist propaganda accelerates its campaign within whose framework it declares that a remedy for our economic problems and difficulties is the restoration of the private sector, encouragement of the so-called "second" or "alternate" economy. There is no question that it is possible and necessary to use the initiative of individuals, small producers in improving services--for example, in the repair sector. As is known, we have adopted in our country certain measures in this respect. But only a naive person could expect that such measures can replace socialist large-scale production and solve the basic problems of our economy. Our future will after all be determined not by private small-production but by a growth of productivity of labor in the state and cooperative sectors of our economy. Even within this framework the development of small individual entrepreneurship can be significant. Bourgeois ideologues demand that this sector replace the state and cooperative sector because they have high hopes that it will destabilize the socialist social system. This is the real reason why in the West they raise funds to support private small-scale production in Polish agriculture. Especially the church circles are involved in this action because they see in this sector, in spite of its economic backwardness, a prop for their goals.

The most important tasks of political-educational work is educating the citizens in the spirit of Marxism-Leninism. In this area the work of the CSSR Socialist Academy is very meritorious. Especially, we must appreciate the scientific-atheistic education and propaganda which is an important part of the current communist education of the working people. The fact that atheism has become a mass phenomenon and that the participation of our citizens in religious ceremonies is declining are characteristic features of social development in Slovakia. Also, the traditional lack of religious toleration belongs definitely to the past as a consequence of social changes and intensive educational work. The intensive educational work of the Socialist Academy deserves credit for all this. The topical nature of this activity is even better understood if we become aware that the imperialist ideological centers are now concentrating their utmost attention on the exploitation of the religious feelings of our people for antisocialist counterrevolutionary goals. Under no circumstances can we slow down our work with the specific stratum of our citizens, namely, the believers. The Communist Party and socialist state respect religious feelings and create prerequisites for the believers to fulfill their aspirations by participating in religious ceremonies. At the same time, however, we are not giving up our obligation to propagate the scientific world view. The problem of a high-level of argumentation and correct approach toward scientific-atheistic education has extraordinary significance. Scientific-atheistic propaganda must not be superficial or of poor quality, because

in such cases the result will be the strengthening of religious feeling. The same applies when we replace educational work by sheer administrative work. The persuasiveness of arguments is a key to the aggressive character of all sectors of political-educational work. Each lecture, seminar or other presentation must have a distinct world view function.

The attention of the Socialist Academy as well as the entire society is being concentrated on work with young people. It is necessary to think very much about ways to improve our work with young workers and apprentices as well as young people in villages. It is gratifying to see that the Socialist Academy recruits many of its best students and graduates of universities as lecturers. That it is necessary to conduct a dialogue with our young people is still a valid concept.

Even in the future the Socialist Academy and its lecturers must pay increased attention to new realities in the ideological struggle in the world. As is known, psychological warfare by imperialism against real socialist is an accompanying phenomenon of the efforts of the most reactionary forces of imperialism, headed by the present U.S. Government, to achieve military supremacy over the world socialist community. This effort is characterized by organizing large-scale propaganda campaigns against the socialist countries, vicious anti-Sovietism, and the strengthening of ideological subversion. In addition to such special ideological-subversive institutes as Radio Free Europe, the participants in this effort include statesmen such as Ronald Reagan, Margaret Thatcher and others. A typical illustration of psychological warfare is the campaign waged by the ideological-subversive centers in connection with the gross provocation related to the violation of Soviet air space by a South Korean airplane. Psychological warfare is basically different from the ideological struggle which is part of the existing class struggle in the world today. Ideological struggle should not lead to psychological warfare in which the confrontation of ideas is replaced by disseminating lies and unlimited hate. Statements by the American President Reagan that the Soviet Union is the "source of all evil in the world," that the "communists reject any morality," that the Soviet Union is a "sad and strange chapter in the history of mankind" clearly show how far the blind anticommunists can go. These quotations do not require any comment. It is a sad chapter in the history of mankind that great political power, including the possibility to start a nuclear war, is in the hands of these maniacs.

In the existing dangerous situation which has been created in the world as a consequence of the aggressive policy of the most reactionary forces of imperialism, headed by U.S. Government, a clear and realistic point of departure is offered by the political declaration of the Warsaw Pact member nations adopted at the meeting of the Political Advisory Committee held in Prague last January. At numerous peace rallies which are now being held in our country, or workers singularly support the initiative proposals of the Soviet Government aimed at the diffusion of international tension and the strengthening of peace. No verbal juggling of President Reagan and other bourgeois statesmen can hide the fact that the government of the United States and its allies aim at military confrontation with the

socialist world community. Broad masses of the working people in the world especially in Europe, whom the American atomic maniacs want to sacrifice in the vain hope that this way they can save themselves, are becoming more and more aware of this fact.

x Our country finds itself on the western edge of the socialist world, and the planned placing of Pershing 2 rockets and cruise missiles with nuclear warheads in the German Federal Republic, our neighbor, means a direct threat to the lives of Czechoslovak citizens. Let nobody doubt that in case these deadly weapons are placed on the ground we, together with other countries associated in the Warsaw Pact defense community, will adopt all the necessary measures to protect the lives of our people. In this connection we emphasize that the defense of the achievements of socialism is our sacred duty, for which we must offer any sacrifice. The decision of the Czechoslovak Government, which agreed to start preparatory work on placing tactical-operational rockets on the territory of our republic, has exclusively a defensive character and is one of the ways to maintain a military-strategic balance between the socialist community and imperialism, between the Soviet Union and the United States.

We are taking decisive steps to defend peace against the criminal plans of the imperialist forces to start a nuclear war which, in its consequences, would mean a threat to the existence of our civilization.

1277

CSO: 2400/101

OBZINA'S CRITICISM OF R&D PROBLEMS QUOTED

Prague TRIBUNA in Czech No 45, 9 Nov 83 p 1

[Editorial by Ludmila Lorencova: "In the Interest of All"]

[Text] The present situation and urgent tasks of research and development as well as the long-term directions of implementation of resolutions of the Eighth Plenum of the CPCZ Central Committee were the subject of the report of the federal government, which the deputies of the Chamber of People of the CSSR Federal Assembly discussed at its recent meeting.

A detailed analysis of the situation has revealed that only 95-96 percent of research and development projects were completed in accordance with the plan and on schedule during the first 2 years of the Seventh 5-Year Plan. A similar situation developed during the first half of this year. The share of new products in the total production volume is small and remained at 15.8 percent in 1981 and 1982. Moreover, the share of products of a high technical and economic standard was only 10.9 percent of the total production volume in 1982.

"In summing up the situation we must state that we did not meet the targets set for qualitative indicators either during 2 and 1/2 years of this 5-year plan or during the first half of 1983," said Jaromir Obzina, premier of the CSSR Government, in his report. "We do not fulfill the planned tasks of research and development, and from the administrative standpoint we call this a 'backlog' which we 'correct' by revising the plan or by extending the original deadline. From the political standpoint, however, this amounts to the nonimplementation of one of the principal tasks set by the 16th CPCZ Congress and Eighth Plenum of the CPCZ Central Committee. We cannot describe this situation in any way other than as irresponsibility in setting the tasks, which were formulated inaccurately and incorrectly."

The government report, however, not only states the shortcomings, but contains also concrete proposals how the problems are to be solved. These proposals make it clear that, on the basis of the analysis of causes of nonfulfillment of tasks, those proponents and solvers who failed in their duties will be taken to task. "We are putting an end to anonymity, to anonymous irresponsibility," J. Obzina emphasized.

The deputies got acquainted with the immediate tasks related to the processing of the plan of research and development for the next year. This concerns particularly the shortening of the time lag between the completion



of research and production, and the higher quality of research and development projects. The ultimate goal is to make the technical-economic parameters of products and technologies, when they are introduced in practices, comparable to the world standards. More effective procedures are hindered also by various obsolete and inadequate guidelines, legislation and regulations on research and development. The first part of measures designed to eliminate these stumbling blocks is to become effective already in January 1984.

In the following debate, the deputies referred both to the good examples in the application of scientific and technological achievements, and to the problems and shortcomings which they had encountered in enterprises, research centers and workplaces in their electoral districts. Many of their experiences supported the necessity of adopting the measures mentioned in the government report.

Deputy Josef Martinec pointed out the shortage of experts-researchers, workers engaged in the development and design of electronics, microelectronics and robots. The share of design engineers in the total number of workers in VJH's [economic production units] and enterprises is very small in our country--less than 3 percent, and of design engineers in development approximately only 1 percent. In foreign firms in similar sectors, including other socialist countries, the ratio is 10 percent or even more, particularly in engineering, electrical engineering and electronics.

He reminded us that even the work force in design and development offices does not correspond, from the standpoint of age structure, to the future needs. The middle-age generation, which is most creative, is missing. It takes a long time to become an accomplished design engineer. Only after 5-10 years does a young worker become creatively independent. And--as deputy J. Martinec pointed out--only 8 percent of all technical-economic workers have this ability.

Many speakers emphasized the important role of a responsible attitude on the part of technicians and economic managers toward research and development. Deputy Rudolf Riman, who spoke of the experiences in cultivation of grain crops primarily in the North Moravia kraj, emphasized that precisely the most capable experts in agronomy and management personnel of those enterprises which have very good economic results literally seek out experts and scientific centers. They have the tendency to verify for themselves everything new and progressive in practice and frequently in fact force the research institutes to explore new problems.

Partial good results which we have achieved, new possibilities of development, reserves, problems and shortcomings--all this was covered in the government report and discussed from various angles by the deputies. The common goal was to help promote more rapid progress in research and development, and the more effective utilization of their results in daily life. Necessary conditions must be created for this purpose.

For this reason the Chamber of People appealed to all sectors, the CSAV [Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences], all economic organizations for help by improving their management, planning and organizational work, and by correctly using financial incentives. It invited to active participation workers in the entire national economy. After all, it is in the interest of all of us.



## CZECHOSLOVAKIA

### DISCORD AMONG SOME COMMUNIST PARTIES CRITICIZED

Prague TRIBUNA in Czech No 44, 2 Nov 83 p 3

[Article by Vadim Zagladin: "Historical Responsibility of Communists"]

[Excerpt] The extent of danger of war and the very character of a threat of war presses for an intensification of effort and for further improvement in cooperation of communists of all countries in the struggle for the preservation of peace. Possibilities for it certainly exist. Extremely important today are two circumstances: the role of communists as the most consistent antiwar force (because the communists enforce not only prevention of some particular war, but also removing of wars from the life of society in general), and respect for the fact that for the prevention of war and a halt in the arms race (which is the most important preliminary condition for all nations' possibilities of fulfilling their political, social and economic tasks) international cooperation among all, and not only some or a single one, peace loving forces is needed. Regrettably, it still happens that these circumstances are underestimated. We can hope that these views will be overcome.

#### Significance of Internationalism

The slogan of K. Marx and F. Engels: "Proletarians of all countries unite!" has never sounded so current as at present. The content of proletarian internationalism has deepened and become richer. But even now the most important aspect of internationalism is the struggle against the foreign policy of the bourgeoisie, against the unjust, antipopular wars which it prepares. Let us recall that Marx considered such a struggle to be one of the most important components of the activity of the proletariat, which aids in its social liberation.

It is no secret that obstacles and difficulties have always been and still are being put in the way of the antiwar communist struggle. This conclusion, of course, does not at all mean succumbing to pessimism, it is merely an objective statement of a real fact. As far as the present stage and the antiwar struggle of the communist movement are concerned, difficulties have appeared primarily in the following areas.

First, in the very perceptible unevenness in the activity of brotherly parties. For instance, while the communist parties of the Near East and Latin America have organized a number of extensive collective campaigns for defense of peace in recent years, in Western Europe the activity of the communist parties has manifested itself mainly within a national framework.

Second, the communists have not always succeeded in repelling the ideological and propagandists maneuvers of the class enemy. The imperialist forces have even succeeded, besides other things, in persuading individual groups of workers that the responsibility for the present increase in tension lies not only with imperialism but also with socialism and in the first place the Soviet Union. In some instances also a false theory of Soviet military threat has spread.

Third, in some countries a certain weakening of international solidarity has become apparent, primarily with the peoples of Afghanistan, Ethiopia, Angola and El Salvador. Evidently, the bourgeois propagandists have frequently succeeded in their propagandizing of completely false theories according to which the showing of any solidarity of the socialist countries with the revolutionaries of other lands, with the revolutions in Angola, Ethiopia and Afghanistan, would almost mean an undermining of world peace.

In recent years solidarity of individual communist parties of the West with socialist countries, especially Poland, has shown some weakening. In these parties opinions and attitudes have spread which distortedly explain the world of socialism (in the fashion of the familiar "theory" according to which real socialism, especially its "Soviet form," has already exhausted its driving force.

#### Where Are the Causes?

Of course, this requires a concrete Marxist-Leninist analysis. It is impossible here to examine in detail the causes of each single given problem, even more so to allow for national conditions in which they appear. We will, therefore, limit ourselves to some more general reflections.

First of all, a great role was played by imperialism, which exploits the backwardness in political awareness of a substantial portion of the masses in Western countries. It is also characteristic that the United States and other NATO countries and their organs are paying more and more attention to problems of the communist movement. This attention has a fully specific character. For instance, one of the directives of the National Security Council in the United States pointed out the necessity to provoke intensively and exploit the difficulties of "world communism," to limit the spreading of communist ideology, to undermine the strength of communist parties and organizations, etc.

In this connection, the recent period has proved again what a big role falls especially on the bourgeois means of mass communication as an instrument of class struggle, and so revolutionaries must pay full attention to this role of theirs and confront their activity with increased activity of their own.

There is, of course, no doubt that in some things the influence of the social environment in which communists live and act has also been shown. The communists, just like any other political force which is or wants to be a vanguard, are surely only a bigger or smaller part of the whole, in the given case of the masses of people. This part is not separated by a Wall of China from other parts of society and its whole life. It is natural that communists not only affect society themselves but are exposed to its definite, ambiguous influence, such as the influence of numerous strata, petit bourgeois in substance. These strata are, as a rule, bearers of ideas of bourgeois reformism and class cooperation. All this necessarily affects the activity and position of the communists, especially today in the present epoch of transition from capitalism to communism.

And, after all, in many cases it has become apparent that especially those comrades who grew up in the years of relatively high economic prosperity and a relatively less sharp class struggle lack the necessary revolutionary experiences and proper theoretical training.

The significance of these problems and difficulties must be neither magnified nor belittled. Although these problems and difficulties have caused damage, and by no means small, to individual sections of the movement (primarily to parties themselves where they appeared), nevertheless they have not put any brakes on the total growth of the communist movement. The collective meetings of the brotherly parties in Prague, Sofia and Berlin show first, that in basic questions of the anti-imperialist struggle their standpoints are identical or close. In this direction disagreements show least; second, that attitudes differing from opinions of the majority meet with the disapproval and criticism of an overwhelming majority of the brotherly parties; third, that a tendency prevails toward unity, toward a closing of the ranks of the communist movement, especially for resistance to imperialism and activization of the postwar struggle.

The adversaries of imperialistic militarism and the arms race have become markedly active recently. Communists deserve large credit for this. However, we must not underestimate the fact that peace-loving initiatives are still meeting with stiff resistance from the enemies of peace. Imperialistic, conservative forces hold back and brake a practical realization of many of these initiatives.

12392

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## HISTORICAL IMPACT OF SOVIET EXPERIENCE EVALUATED

Prague NOVA MYSL in Czech No 11, 5 Oct 83 pp 36-46

[Article by Antonin Dolejsi, deputy director of the CSSR-Soviet Institute of the Cs Academy of Sciences, and Ludvik Prikryl, rector, SNB College, Prague]

[Text] The conclusions of the 26th Congress of the CPSU and the 16th Congress of the CPCZ, and the sessions of the Central Committee of the CPSU and of the CPCZ are a significant stimulus to, and a mobilization of, social sciences for an intensification of interdisciplinary scientific analysis of the history of building socialism and the legality of its development in our country and also in other socialist lands. The significance of the social sciences increases in connection with the revealing of legitimacies and moving forces in the development of socialist society, in the correct determination of stages and tendencies of this development, in the examination of organic ties between the past and the present. It is in harmony with the demand of V.I. Lenin, who emphasized: "We must constantly screen ourselves by examining the chain of political events in their totality, in their causal connections, in their results."

A complex evaluation of the scientific research of given problems points, however, to a serious problem: that the degree of its objective truthfulness and social benefit is determined by, among other things, the extent to which, in the methodological foundations of these investigations, the question of the international and historical significance of the CPSU's experiences has been comprehended and scientifically clarified. This is so because the CPSU has been through a practical history which, as far as the wealth of experiences is concerned, has no comparison in the world. This fact, emphasized by Lenin, is especially topical at present when the effort of bourgeois ideologues and revisionists has unusually intensified in order to deny the international validity of the experiences and lessons from CPSU history with the goal of inflaming the nationalistic and anti-Soviet tendencies in socialist countries and to create conditions for the subversive activity of counterrevolutionary forces. Therefore, for social science workers in the socialist countries who want to clarify correctly the substance, forms and tempos of a revolutionary development, its successes, problems and historical bends, and to deduce from it scientific information, it is immensely important to what extent they will succeed in determining and evaluating how the experiences of the CPSU are reflected in the activity of the communist party, whether this reflection conforms to political, socioeconomic and cultural needs for the building of a new society under given concretely historical conditions.

On the basis of what has the CPSU won its extraordinary authority and avantgarde standing in the international communist and labor movement? Primarily because in its revolutionary practice the theory of Marx-Leninism was for the first time examined and applied to its full extent. Social sciences, must, therefore, thoroughly analyze not only the experiences of the CPSU but also the effectiveness of that mechanism through which these experiences are studied, utilized and propagated under given historical conditions. History confirms that no country can successfully build socialism without a thorough study and creative utilization of Soviet experiences. Without a basic and creative application of these experiences, the revolutionary bravery of the avantgarde working class is crippled, the significance of Marxist-Leninist theory in the program-forming and realization effort of the party is not fully appreciated, political vigilance is weakened, problems in social living are not solved but entangled.

The experiences of the CPSU are not only a practical directive on how to apply revolutionary strategy and tactics of the party, but their utilization leads at the same time to a scientific intensification in decisionmaking, in the choice of means and methods, in the search for ways by which we attain the most reliable results with the least effort.

The process of application of the CPSU experiences must not, of course, be narrowed down to their mechanical copying. All those who strive for the scientific character of the party's policies are required to have a thorough knowledge and ability to make creative use of the revolutionary findings of the CPSU under concrete conditions of each individual country. The depth and scope of the reflection of the CPSU experiences in the activity of the communist parties is also a criterion of the revolutionary character of the avantgarde of the working class, a criterion of loyalty to Marxist-Leninist principles of respect for, and utilization of, revolutionary knowledge acquired in the fight for seizing political power and in the building of a socialist society.

The development of individual socialist countries in the last decade shows graphically to what--often tragic--consequences neglect of the CPSU's and the international communist and labor movement's experiences lead. Especially in the historical disciplines and in the interpretation of CPSU history in recent years, and under the guise of a so-called dialogue, revisionist and counter-revolutionary theories were preached and enforced and were presented to the professional and broad public as the newest results of "objective" research. Distortion and falsification of the history of the CPCZ and CPSU did not do without belittlement of the significance of the study of the achievements of Soviet historical science and social sciences generally. Yet, there is no field of science in the world today which could afford to overlook the research results of the most impressive scientific base in the world. This goes even more for social sciences and especially for historians researching the history of the party and of the international communist and labor movement. It is essential not only for parrying the ideologically diverse attacks to which the communist movement has been open since its inception, especially fierce after the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution and from the beginning of the building of the Soviet state under the CPSU's leadership, but, first of all, for the correct orientation toward those tasks of social sciences which have priority due to their importance in connection with the accomplishment of new tasks in

building socialism and communism. For every social science worker today the criterion of his political conviction and also his professional qualifications is on which side of the barricade he stands in relation to the international importance of the Great October Socialist Revolution and the experiences of the CPSU, and how broad and deep his knowledge of these experiences is.

If our social sciences are to fulfill with honor the given tasks and achieve the results which the party expects of them in the building of a developed socialist society, they must be much more offensive in clarifying the historical experiences of the CPSU as a significant source of information for the international communist and labor movement and as an example of a creative solution of new revolutionary tasks and of vigilance in relation to all hostile forces and their attacks against the socialist system.

Having learned from the counterrevolutionary attack in the year 1968-69, we realize this fact not only here in Czechoslovakia, but it finds its expression in the concrete provisions of the brotherly parties aiming at making not only the party activists but also all party members systematically acquire the experiences of the CPSU. The study of CPSU's historical experiences, first, enriches the theory and practice of the socialist and communist build-up; second, it contributes to the cementing of friendship between the CPCZ and CPSU and other brotherly parties to the deepening of the proletarian internationalism; third, it is an invaluable aid in the contemporary conditions of an intensified ideological struggle against anticommunism and opportunism. Here, every fighting section of the international communist movement and of the socialist community must make its active contribution.

The historic path which the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia has followed fully confirms the significance of an all-round acquisition of the theoretical wealth of Marxism-Leninism, of the study of Soviet experiences and the effort of their creative utilization under Czechoslovak conditions. This is also documented by the words of the secretary general of the Central Committee of the CPCZ and president of the CSSR, Gustav Husak, spoken at the 15th Congress of the CPCZ: "We have built the new order of society on the basis of scientific socialist ideas; the generally valid laws of socialist structure, our own experiences and experiences of the CPSU and other fraternal parties, on the basis of creative application of Leninism under our country's conditions." The history of our party brings many proofs of how the ability of a scientific approach to the evaluation of concrete historical conditions for transition from capitalism to socialism has been developing, also to an analysis of the mutual relationship of class forces in the country and in the international arena, to the setting of a political line, strategy and tactics and how this complex process was contingent on the acquisition of the ideological wealth of Leninism and of the political revolutionary experiences of the CPSU.

In Czechoslovak conditions, too, the fact has been fully proven that Leninism is the only correct direction to the realization of a program for building a socialist society. Therefore, it is necessary, especially in the interpretation of the history of the CPCZ, to analyze much more thoroughly the process of CPCZ bolshevization and the significance of a creative application of Leninism in the theoretical and practical activity of our party, to evaluate and to reveal the significance of experiences of the CPSU as one of the fundamental conditions for



the success of party policy. It is necessary to show that its successes have always depended on the depth of the analysis of the class forces' positions and their interests in how well these class interests have been recognized and politically formulated with the maximum possible scientific objectivity and, further, in how much these formulated class interests have been accepted in the mass political movement, understood by the movement and turned to reality. This is, of course, as experiences of the CPSU confirm, dependent on the creative application of the theory and method of Leninism, on faithfulness to its tenets and on effort for its development and implacability toward its adversaries. The complex but victorious struggle of our peoples for socialism has proved the truth of Lenin's thought that ... "the Russian model shows all countries something very substantial of their inevitable and near future."

The victorious advance of the world proletariat and the severe struggle between capitalism and socialism not only continues but deepens steadily. The mighty expansion of the world proletarian revolution and its successes are inseparably connected with Leninism-Marxism of the epoch of imperialism and the epoch of the revolutionary transition from capitalism to communism. Without Leninism, which is the continuation of Marxism at a time when the epoch change of world history is taking place, and which is a deep generalization of total revolutionary experiences of the proletariat of all countries and at the same time an art to apply creatively these international experiences to the national and concrete historical specific character of each country, this successful growth of the world revolutionary process would be unthinkable.

The development of contemporary history and the deep changes which have reshaped the present world from its foundation keeps steadily bringing new proof of the general validity of the experiences and lessons of Great October, the principles of building a socialist society--the correctness of Leninism. Exactly in this lies the substance of the avantgarde and pioneering role of the CPSU. Therefore, entirely logically, the relation to Lenin's party has always been, is and will be the measurement of the revolutionary qualities of each section of the international communist movement. Today the words of Klement Gottwald, spoken shortly before his death, and which form his ideologically political testament, tell us outright symbolically that Lenin's way of cooperation and alliance with the Soviet Union is a guaranty of the successful building of socialism. "This obligates us, of course," Klement Gottwald stresses further, "to remain always and under all circumstances faithful to the banner of Lenin. This also obligates us constantly to embrace the teaching of Leninism more and more deeply."

Experiences from a successful development of the world revolutionary process have fully confirmed Lenin's theories that "without a theory of revolution there cannot be a revolutionary movement either." It is precisely in the organizational unity of revolutionary words and action where the key to understanding the great victories of Leninism and of the world revolutionary process lies.

Without scientifically generalized experiences of world development, without application of the theory and method of Leninism to an analysis of the practice of revolutionary struggle, without a constantly creative expansion of revolutionary theory in harmony with the continuously progressing objective reality, such a grandiose upswing of the world revolution of the proletariat would never have taken place.



Leninism as Marxism of the contemporary epoch, as an efficient method of understanding and transforming society, is, therefore, the main theoretical weapon of the international proletariat in the struggle for the liquidation of capitalism and building of communism.

The extraordinarily significant role of the revolutionary theory without which the international proletariat cannot fulfill its historical task comes especially strongly to the foreground in the present epoch.

The international labor and communist movement has become the most influential and invincible force in the world thanks precisely to the revolutionary scientific theory, thanks to Leninism, which not only recognizes but stresses the extraordinary and, in the conditions of a revolutionary rebuilding of society, steadily growing role of the subjective factor of the historical process--the social activities of the working class and people's masses, their organization and awareness, the strength of the party and of the socialist state--but which also demands a correct utilization of this factor. Exactly in this lies the strength of the scientifically substantiated policy of the Marxist-Leninist party. In the contemporary epoch, therefore, it is not possible to comprehend correctly either the formation of a new, communist civilization or the dynamics of changes in the capitalist world, or fundamental developmental tendencies in the international situation, without giving consideration to the decisive influence of Leninism.

It is to the historical merit of Leninism that it has fulfilled the great historical role pointed out by Marx and Engels--organically to unite the theory of scientific communism with the labor movement. This goal would never have been reached without a revolutionary proletarian party of a new type. Thus scientific communism has become a material force which in a revolutionary fashion is transforming the world. In this very combination of a scientific revolutionary theory with the international proletariat and broad masses of people lies the invincibility of socialism.

The creation of a revolutionary proletarian party of the new type was an event of historical significance. It is this party that has become an embodiment of the unbreakable unity of revolutionary theory and revolutionary practice, a fundamental condition for the successful development of the world revolutionary process and the revolutionary transformation of society.

Historical experience has shown that the party can fulfill its mission only if it follows Marxism-Leninism and develops it in a creative way, if it ensures the organic unity of revolutionary theory and revolutionary practice; if it becomes a genuine collective, political leader of the working class, the highest form of its organization and pioneer of all workers; if it is in the closest connection with the masses; if it bases its activity on the principles of democratic centralism; if it steadily consolidates the ideological and organizational unity of its ranks and the mature discipline and activity of its members; if it is implacable toward all expressions of fractionalism and sectarianism, revisionism, opportunism and dogmatism; if it subjects to a critical analysis the results of its revolutionary and reshaping activity and policy; if it studies, evaluates and makes use of experience gained by the international

communist movement; if it consistently applies, enforces and defends the principles of proletarian internationalism.

It is therefore no accident that the bourgeois ideologues and opportunists attack the revolutionary party of the proletariat, its fundamental principles of activity; that they try to diminish the role of communist parties in the struggle for the interests of the working class, for the rule of workers in building socialism, and to destroy their unity. To defend and assert Marxist-Leninist teaching about the party and to enforce the general principles of its activity in the actual conditions of each country is therefore the first line international duty of all communists.

The Great October Revolution and its result--The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics--has become the embodiment of Leninism. Great October meant a fundamental turn in mankind's historical fortunes, opened a new epoch in world history and became a stimulus for further powerful growth of the world revolutionary process, an effective instrument for the practical revolutionary reshaping of the world. The result of the revolutionary and reshaping activity of the party and the people was not only the creation of developed socialism in the USSR but also the creation of a world socialist system which has become a decisive factor of social progress.

Leninism, which organically combined scientific revolutionary theory with revolutionary practice, has thus expressed not only the needs of the contemporary epoch, but has also contributed to its formation to a decisive extent.

The relationship to Leninism and to the Great October Socialist Revolution is, therefore, the basic criterion for determining genuinely revolutionary attitudes in today's world of genuinely revolutionary politics. Thus it is no accident that bourgeois ideologues and revisionists of all shades aim their principal attack against Leninism. They are especially striving for a negation of the international importance of the experiences and lessons of Great October, of building socialism in the Soviet Union, of the lasting importance and general validity of Leninism. The international proletariat is supposed in this way to be deprived of its decisive theoretical weapon in its struggle for liberation, separated from its revolutionary theory and thrown into subjugation to bourgeois ideology. An implacable struggle against bourgeois ideology and revisionism is therefore the fundamental duty of all real revolutionaries.

The lasting importance of Leninism and its validity lie precisely in the fact that in the epoch of imperialism and the epoch of revolutionary transition from capitalism to socialism it expressed in depth and accurately the interests of the proletariat and all workers, the need for social development, and that it gave correct answers to vitally important questions of the time, that it boldly and at the same time creatively solved the problems of the day and that it revealed with scientific accuracy the prospects of social development.

The success of building socialism depends on how the principle of the unity of the general and of the particular is applied in the party's policy, which is an essential prerequisite for a truthful analysis of social reality in the recognition of social phenomena. A correct application of this principle of the unity of the general and the particular in the party policy is the condition

for a successful realization of strategic and tactical goals on the way toward socialist revolution and in the building of a socialist society. It also determines a correct relationship to the experiences of the CPSU.

To the Soviet communists belongs the historical merit that they were the first to open a way to a new society. The substance of Soviet experiences is generally valid and the process of acquiring the substance of these experiences is uninterrupted in the international labor and communist movement. The creative application of Soviet experiences stems from the substance of these experiences, considers national peculiarities, the achieved degree of social development. It is just such an approach to the experiences of the CPSU and other socialist countries that is a characteristic feature of the Leninist work style, which distinguishes itself by a creative, scientific approach to all social processes, by a close connection with the working masses, matter-of-factness, a concrete and demanding position, and also implacability to all manifestations of formalism, bureaucratism and ostentation.

As the general secretary of the Central Committee of the CPSU, Yu. V. Andropov, pointed out in his article "Teachings of Karl Marx and a Few Questions on the Building of Socialism in the USSR," a constant self-renewal of revolutionary theory under the influence of revolutionary practice makes Marxism a genuine science and art of revolutionary creation. And in this lies the secret of the strength of Marxism-Leninism, of its constant freshness.

The principal ally of the struggle of bourgeois classes against the proletariat is opportunism in the labor movement and its political parties. As Lenin constantly emphasized, the struggle of the proletariat for capturing political power and then creating a socialist society cannot be successful if not connected with an energetic fight against opportunism.

Lenin disclosed the class basis of this phenomenon, its ideologically political content, its historical and socioeconomic roots and showed that opportunism in the labor movement is nothing accidental, but that it is a social product of the whole historical epoch.

Practical experience in the building of socialism has shown that the working class and its political party are not immune to opportunism, be it after the capture of political power or after the establishment of the foundations of socialism. Opportunism acts like a parasite especially on mistakes in the policy of communist parties, on shortcomings and problems occurring in the building of socialism. Its socioeconomic and ideological roots rest in the petit-bourgeois way of life.

Under the conditions of socialist society building, opportunism is apparent especially in its succumbing to petit-bourgeois vitality, in the increase of bourgeois and petit-bourgeois opinions and notions in the ranks of the working class and working masses, in its sacrifice of the basic interests of the revolutionary movement to short-lived advantages, in its conforming to the most backward strata of the working class and working masses, in placing the so-called national interests above the international ones and, in practical politics, in covering up shortcomings, in avoiding solutions of basic and so-called unpopular problems, in unprincipled compromises, et sim.

Therefore, faithfulness to Marxism-Leninism principles, a proper attention to the common laws of the building of a new society, to the peculiarities of the country in question and a close linking together of Marxist-Leninist parties with the masses constitute the unconditional condition for the successful accomplishment of the tasks of socialist structure building.

The revisionists especially attack Leninism. They declare Leninism to be a purely "Russian" phenomenon which allegedly has no international validity, they bring out national specifics and place them against the general principles of Marxism-Leninism.

The main attack by opportunists and bourgeois ideologues is thus directed against the international character of Leninism and the experiences of the Russian proletariat in the fight for the seizure of political power for the stabilization of the dictatorship of the proletariat and for the building of socialist society. They are trying to prove that Leninism has only a limited validity, namely for countries with insufficient economic, social, political and cultural development, with a majority of petit-bourgeois masses, and that Leninism is actually an ideology which originated in backward, agrarian countries in connection with the transition of these countries to an "industrial society."

The enemies of the bolsheviks insisted already before the Great October Socialist Revolution that Russia "was not ripe for socialism" because capitalism here allegedly had not reached a sufficiently high level. This "pedantic" concept was briskly rejected by V.I. Lenin. He proved that the common legitimacy of world development by no means excludes but, on the contrary, anticipates "... individual periods of development which distinguish themselves...by their own characteristics in the type of this development." On the basis of an analysis of capitalism in the epoch of imperialism, Lenin arrived at the conclusion that a socialist revolution can win and with the greatest probability will win in those countries of the world capitalist system which are its weakest link, i.e., where socioeconomic and class-social discrepancies are not acute, and which do not necessarily have to belong to countries with the highest level of economic, social, political and cultural development. From that he deduced that the victorious proletariat can and must utilize this power to finish speedily what capitalism was not able to do, and then proceed further at an urgent pace--toward socialism. The party not only substantiated this line in theory. It defended it successfully in a dogged ideopolitical fight against Trotskyism, "leftist communism" and other deviations on the right and left.

The start of socialism building in Russia required the party to give answers to a number of very complicated theoretical and practical-political questions, for example, the principles of building a state and a state structure in a multinational country, the relationship between economics and politics, the variety of economic systems and forms of ownership, the peculiarities of class struggle in the transition period and methods of liquidating the exploiting classes, the character of the relationship between city and village, the significance of business, the role of money, collectivization, industrialization, stages of building socialism, questions of culture, education, science, art, relationship to the capitalist world, etc.

To none of these questions was it possible to find an answer in previous sociopolitical practice, with the exception of the short-term and limited experiences of the Paris commune. When the proletariat seized power in Russia, it did not have, as symbolically expressed by Lenin, any tested vehicle or road prepared in advance or any previously tried equipment. "And here there is no vehicle, no road, nothing at all that may have been tested previously."

It is quite beyond doubt that without the creative development and application of Marxist theory it would be impossible to answer these questions and that successful building of socialist society would not be possible. The creative development of Marxist theory and its application to the concrete conditions of Russia belong to the greatest achievements of V.I. Lenin and the Bolshevik Party.

It is a basis also for those successes which have been achieved by socialist countries in the solution of similar tasks. It is equally so in the approach to the building of a developed socialist society and transition to communism. Neglect of these experiences, tested in practice, has had far-reaching consequences. And we are richer by these experiences, too.

Revolutionary practice then has convincingly disproved and is still disproving the arguments of the enemies of Leninism. Leninism is no longer only a scientific theory and a revolutionary method; it has become an epoch-making practice, the practice of the Soviet Union, world socialism, international labor and national liberation movements. The revolutionary change of society in the Soviet Union and all other socialist countries and the successful development of the world revolutionary process are linked to Leninism.

The general validity of the fundamental principles of Leninism, just like that of Marxism of the imperialist epoch and proletarian revolutions, the disintegration of the colonial system of imperialism and the epoch of the revolutionary transition of mankind from capitalism to socialism is therefore constantly reaffirmed by revolutionary practice. The epoch-making significance of Leninism stems from the fact that Leninism not only has generalized the experiences of the revolutionary struggle of the Russian proletariat but that it has also generalized the revolutionary experiences of the proletariat in advanced capitalist countries as well, that it has thoroughly analyzed the development of world capitalism, that it has revealed the substance and peculiarities of a new world epoch. The process in which Leninism formed and asserted itself is therefore a universal process of creative enrichment and development of the theoretical bequest of Marx and Engels.

At the same time, Leninism has proved its ability to apply creatively international experiences together with common laws and principles in the concrete national situation in every country. That is just why it has crossed the boundaries of one country and has become the strongest weapon of the world proletariat. And it is for this reason that the study, analysis, utilization and application of the revolutionary experiences of the CPSU and the working class of Russia in their struggle for the seizure of power, in their building and defense of socialism, in the process of building communism, are not only an

invaluable source of information for the world communist movement and the countries of the socialist system, but also one of the basic conditions for the successful development of the world revolutionary process and the building of socialist society.

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NEWEST FRG EX-OFFICIALS' BOOKS REVIEWED, COMPARED

Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 6 Dec 83 p 25

[Review by Peter Jochen Winters, chief Berlin editor, of book "Wo Deutschland liegt--Eine Ortsbestimmung" [Where Germany Is--A Positional Fix] by Guenther Gaus, Verlag Hoffmann und Campe, Hamburg, 1983, 288 pages, and of book "Die fernen Nachbarn--Erfahrungen in der DDR" [The Distant Neighbors--Experiences in the GDR], by Klaus Boelling, Stern Buch im Verlag Gruner und Jahr, Hamburg, 1983, 304 pages]

[Text] They are very different indeed, these books by the first head of the Permanent Mission of the Federal Republic with the GDR Government, Guenter Gaus, and the man who succeeded him in that post, Klaus Boelling. Gaus is in a position to report what he observed and experienced "on the spot" during his almost 7 years in the GDR. Boelling, who held his post in East Berlin not quite 16 months, feeds by and large on encounters he had there with Erich Honecker--ruler by trade from the Saarland, heir of Ulbricht and undisputed number one in the GDR for about a dozen years. Before they entered into government service, Gaus and Boelling were journalists and well-known "television brains," and in fact both books are meant to be primarily the work of journalists and not the memoirs of retired state secretaries. Both, however, are ambitious to come up in their books with more than observations and accounts of what happened to them, with more than sober, fact-filled analyses of social phenomena and detached descriptions of persons.

In the process Gaus comports himself--as he puts it--as a left-liberal stable fly whose overacid polemics are aimed at anyone who does not share his views--not least former Federal Chancellor Schmidt, who periodically "failed to do his Germany-policy homework." Boelling, on the other hand, for whom the bearing of a government spokesman able to say (almost) nothing in long statements and carefully chosen language has already become second nature, in this book too delivers a eulogy on Helmut Schmidt. However, the fact that both writers come up with something about the GDR which is worth reading and thinking about shows that neither has forgotten his journalistic skills.

In the case of the book "Wo Deutschland liegt," the irritable politician Gaus has caused the journalist Gaus to fail. Here less would have meant more. If one skips in Gaus' book the first and the last two chapters, which present with missionary zeal a great deal of incongruous, not well thought through



and polemical but also ideologically colored material about the German issues --in other words, if one reads only the three principal portions of the book (the chapters "Staatsvolk der kleinen Leute" [A National People of the Underclass], "Honeckers Partei" [Honecker's Party] and "Nischengesellschaft" [Niche Society], which do fill more than 200 pages--one can arrive at only one judgment, namely that this is among the best things that have been written about the other part of Germany.

With an analytical mind and open eyes and ears, Gaus time and again rode through the land between Elbe and Oder, Ruegen and the Erzgebirge, in the years when he headed the Permanent Mission. He discovered that part of Germany for himself, developing a liking and empathy for the Germans living there. He listened to them, debated with them and tried to understand them. During his time the receptions of the Permanent Mission in East Berlin were meetingplaces for artists and writers, for culturally and intellectually creative people, and many an inter-German friendship was concluded there. Gaus had official and semiprivate contacts with party and government officials, entertaining in his residence ministers and department heads in the SED Central Committee and even one or the other member of the SED Politburo. When he compares the members of the Politburo to cardinals of the Curia, it is not only amusing but just as useful for understanding what polit-bureaucratic rule is all about as his statement that ruling communists are the last scholastics.

The author makes it clear that the division of Germany into two states has to a large extent also become a division into two societies. He describes GDR society as a society of petit bourgeois in which the former upper stratum does not play any kind of role any longer and in which the mentality of the petite bourgeoisie has become the overall social norm--an "unalloyed petite bourgeoisie," and a German one. Gaus points up the fact that the postwar era with its theoretical value standards is still much closer to the Germans over there, whether they are communists--SED supporters--or not, all have comprehensively overcome National Socialism. A great many things distinguish Germans on this side and on the other side of the wall and barbed wire. Almost 40 years of separation have not failed to leave their mark.

But the feeling of belonging together has remained as strong as ever on the other side. Germans in the GDR as a matter of course regard themselves as belonging to the whole German people, adhere to the unity of the nation and let any artificial ideologies of separation and partition bounce off them like raindrops off an umbrella. And presumably it is this that causes the great affection and love for Germans in the GDR by Germans from the Federal Republic who spend some time in the GDR for professional or official reasons, and makes these Germans--like Gaus--wage indignant polemics against West Germans who confront their central German relatives and acquaintances with avuncular condescension.

Painting an appropriate picture of life in the GDR, Gaus describes it as living in a "niche society." By "niche" he means the private space in which--with remarkable know-how--Germans on the other side seek to make themselves as comfortable as possible. With a view to the objection that in the Federal

Republic too the focal point of most people's existence lies in their private sphere, Gaus writes: "The niche existence, as a way of life of the majority anyway, is worth mentioning not because it is something special as regards the GDR but because it is significant in that--customary everywhere--it also has its place in the other German state." However, the existence of a niche society in the GDR means that in almost 40 years the SED has not managed to create a "new man," that "the old Adam" continues to exist unchanged.

In spring 1981 Gaus left the GDR, having had to relinquish his post. (The fact that this happened under offensive circumstances may be the reason why Gaus in turn now expresses himself so cuttingly toward those who do not agree with his political message.) He was present when the Germans in the GDR began to develop self-assurance and the courage of their convictions.

In his book he also describes this budding citizens' initiative mentality. What is completely lacking unfortunately, however, is a description of the role the Protestant Church has played in the GDR--not just since the missile debate. After all, the talk between the chairman of the Conference of Protestant Church Administrators and Chairman of the Council of State Honecker took place while Gaus was permanent representative of the Federal Republic in East Berlin. The fact that this important sector is missing in Gaus' description of GDR reality is deplorable not only because the book contains some remarkable sentences about the Catholic Church in the GDR and the unforgettable Cardinal Bengsch but because the author's soberly analyzing look is bound to have unearthed something worth communicating about the Protestant "church in socialism." Why is he silent about it?

When Klaus Boelling arrived in East Berlin, he immediately trimmed the guest list for mission receptions, thus alienating quite a few artists and intellectuals in the GDR, who now felt excluded. Boelling made it known that he desired contacts with ordinary people, workers, employees, the man-in-the-street. But it appeared and not only to the corps of medium-level officials in the GDR, as if the Bonn representative, the spokesman of Helmut Schmidt, actually wanted to talk to only one person--Erich Honecker. And in fact during his short term in office, which also included the Schmidt-Honecker meeting at the Wehrbellinsee, Boelling did see Honecker several times. The meetings with Honecker and the quasiofficial record of the meeting at the Wehrbellinsee supply the material for the greater part of Boelling's book, with no space remaining for the workers, the unimportant persons, the people on the other side.

Boelling reports about what he witnessed and experienced on the East Berlin diplomatic scene. In the process he furnishes more or less detailed portraits of the "sovereign with the straw hat" (Honecker) and the "men behind Honecker." But here only those with whom the permanent representative of the Federal Republic had any official contacts are paid attention to. They are Politburo member Hermann Axen (international connections), and Guenter Mittag (economy), State Secretary in the Ministry for Foreign Trade Alexander Schalck-Golodkowski ("the conspiratorial inclination of the Honecker confidant appeared to me rather to be a friendly whim"), the lawyer Wolfgang Vogel and Karl Seidel, the chief of the FRG Department in the GDR Ministry for Foreign Affairs.

It would be of interest to learn how Chairman of the Council of Ministers Stoph, State Security Minister Mielke, Defense Minister Hoffmann and Politburo members Verner, Hager and Naumann exercise influence on inter-German matters. In contrast with Gaus, Boelling devotes a whole chapter to the Protestant Church--or Bishop Schoenherr, who headed the League of Protestant Churches in the GDR from 1969 to 1981. In this chapter, though, entitled "One Has To Pay a Price for Being a Christian," he sees, describes and assesses the role of the church and the bishop more from the point of view of inter-German detente politics than from inside, as it were, from the point of view of the situation of the Protestant Christian in an environment bearing a Marxist-Leninist stamp.

In a brief chapter Boelling describes Moscow's "regent" in East Berlin, publishing a generally known but characteristic photograph with this legend: "The 'ambassador in charge,' as he is first called by his German comrades-- Petr Abrasimov, ambassador of the Soviet Union in East Berlin for almost two decades. In February 1983, Andropov calls him back to Moscow because Honecker regards this diplomat, who quite often tries to have him on a string, as a liability for GDR-Soviet relations." The Russian, the Soviet, influence on GDR society--from the ritual of public events to the goosestep at the memorial on Unter den Linden--is not given sufficient attention and is not recognized as such in either book.

In their books both Gaus and Boelling paint an insightful and positive picture of Honecker. Both clearly are much impressed by him. Too bad that a ruling communist--even if he should retire one day--does not write any memoirs and reveal his true opinions. It would be so nice to know what kind of impression the Bonn "ambassadors" Gaus and Boelling made on Honecker.

8790

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# DEPLOYMENT OF PERSHING II MISSILES ATTACKED

Budapest MAGYAR IFJUSAG in Hungarian No 46, 18 Nov 83 pp 26-27

[Article by engineer Gyorgy Szentesi, lieutenant-colonel: "Why is the Pershing-2 Dangerous?"]

[Text] In a few weeks it will be decided whether the number of the most dangerous weapons in Europe, the medium-range--between 1,000 and 5,500 kilometers--nuclear weapons will decrease or increase. That is, in case of the possible lack of success of the Soviet-American negotiations in Geneva dealing with these weapons, deployment of nearly 600 new American nuclear weapons will begin in five Western European NATO countries.

As a result of the deployment process which would take nearly six years, the NATO--without Soviet counter measures--would attain significant superiority. In a strange way, this superiority is caused primarily not by the numerical increase resulting from deploying the new weapons, but by the up to then nonexistent capabilities of the newly deployed weapons, primarily the Pershing-2 missiles.

In accordance with the corresponding development principles, both new weapons--the BGM-109 robot airplane and the Pershing-2 missile--are among the high precision war tools. The concentric scatter characterizing their target hitting accuracy is only several tens of meters. This means that even in case of maximum target distance their deviation from the theoretically calculated flight path is within a circle of 30-40 meters diameter. Since this significantly increases the probability of destroying the target, even this alone increases the endangerment of targets located within the territories of the Warsaw Pact's member nations.

## The Time Factor

Of the two new weapons, the Pershing-2 missile--by no means decisively in the present numbers, but by all means to be counterbalanced--has an effect on the endangerment balance which exists at the present time between the two world systems.

The 108 Pershing-2 Missiles which make up about one-fifth of the total number of new American nuclear weapons to be deployed in Western Europe, have effective ranges of 1,800 kilometers. Deployment in the FRG means that a larger number of representatives of this weapon category will come into never before seen proximity of some Eastern European socialist countries and the western regions of the Soviet Union with respect to flight distance and flight time, and in this manner the endangerment of the targets to be annihilated by them by a first, unexpected strike significantly increases.

While at the present time--prior to deployment of the Pershing-2 missiles--the targets can be reached within 15-20 minutes only by missiles launched from the decks of American nuclear submarines traveling on the seas around Europe, launching from the FRG means that the flight time to these same targets is shortened by 10-12 minutes, that is, roughly halved, since it can be calculated from the ballistic characteristics that the Pershing-2 covers the 1,800 kilometer distance in barely 11 minutes on the so-called optimal path (involving the least amount of fuel consumption).

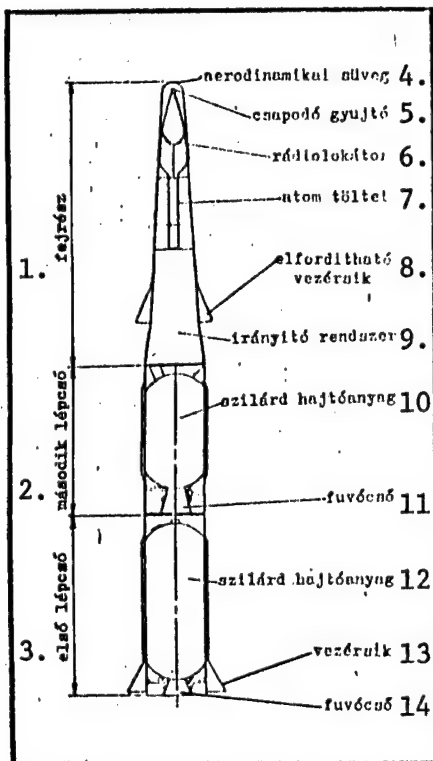
#### Characteristics of the Missile Weapons

Figure 1: The Pershing-2's arrangement

Key:

1. top section
2. second stage
3. first stage
4. aerodynamic cone
5. impact firing mechanism
6. radio locator
7. nuclear charge
8. rotating control surface
9. guidance system
- 10, 12: solid fuel
- 11, 14: blow pipe
13. control surface.

A Pershing-2 elrendezése



The new Americal medium range missile has solid fuel, is 10 meters long, one meter in diameter and its starting weight is 7.2 tons. The two-stage rocket is of the usual design, and the top section housing the elements of the guidance system as well as the nuclear charge and its detonating elements is located on top of the two rocket stages. This consists of three parts, the radio locator, the explosive charge, and the instrument sections.

In the first section are located the radiolocator with the stabilized antenna and the course correction computer. The second section contains the nuclear charge (the detonation may take place in midair or on impact) as well as the protective cone for penetrating the nuclear charge into the soil (for underground explosion). This latter is planned to be used in case of a strike against targets located in reinforced defense structures. The war cone is made of a special, high strength steel to resist the great forces which occur upon impact even when the head section strikes the ground at a speed of several hundred meters per second.

The instrument section houses the guidance system and the on-board electronic computer into the memory units of which they feed in digitalized form the radiolocator picture of the target's region.

The rocket's transport and launching equipment consists of a tractor made by Ford and a double axle trailer. The electronic gear, the hydraulic system, and the lifting mechanisms needed to raise the missile into the vertical and to level it in the launching position are located on the launching platform.

The missile is launched in the vertical position from the launching pad. Its flight path can be divided into three parts: the active stage, the passive stage, and finally the course correction stage. The active stage begins with lift-off from the launching pad and ends with the shutdown of the driving mechanism of the second rocket stage, with the separation of the head section from the second stage.

The passive stage falls outside the thick atmosphere. The missile flies here freely, according to the laws of ballistics. The middle stage of the flight path ends when the top section enters the atmosphere's thicker regions and rejects the protective shield of the radio locator. Upon command received from the electronic computer the on-board radio locator switches on as does the flight path correction apparatus, and the course correction stage begins. The radio locator's antenna senses the ground surface under it. The radio locator signals reflected from the target area are converted in the receiving equipment to a digitalized picture of the target area, from where they are transmitted to the flight path correcting apparatus.

In the final stage of the flight path correction system operating on the basis of the radio locator picture of the surface switches on. At this time the on-board equipment checks the radio locator picture received

continuously from the surface in the target's vicinity against the digitalized picture entered in advance and stored in the memory of the guidance system's electronic computer. By comparing the two pictures the equipment established the deviation from the planned flight path of the head section. Based on the noted error the on-board guidance system develops commands for the aerodynamic controls, in order to correct the flight path.

#### Flight Path With Midcourse Correction

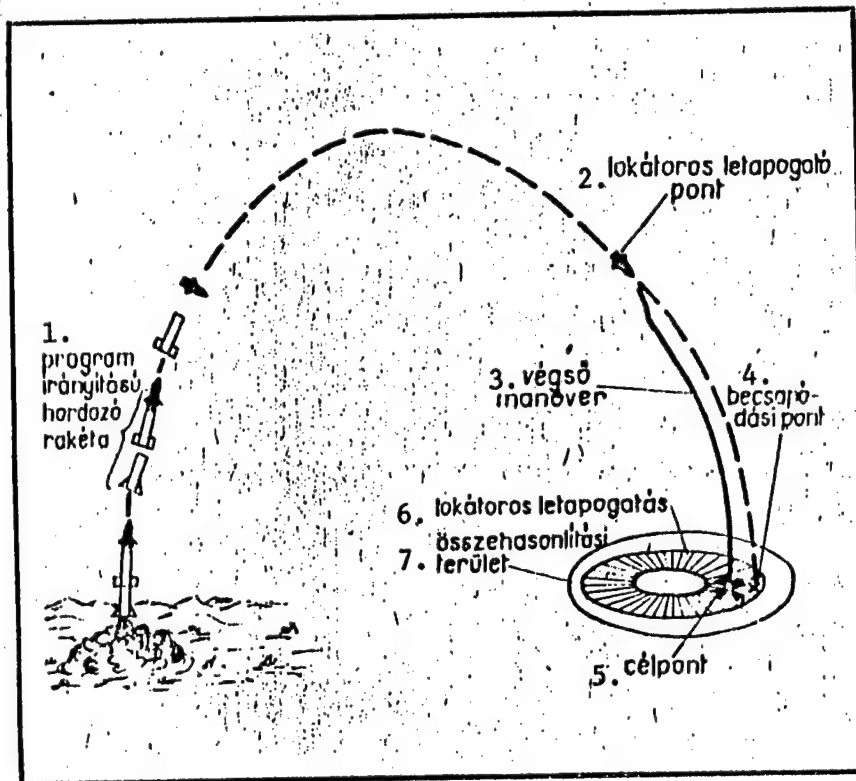


Figure 2: Outline of the Pershing-2's flight path.

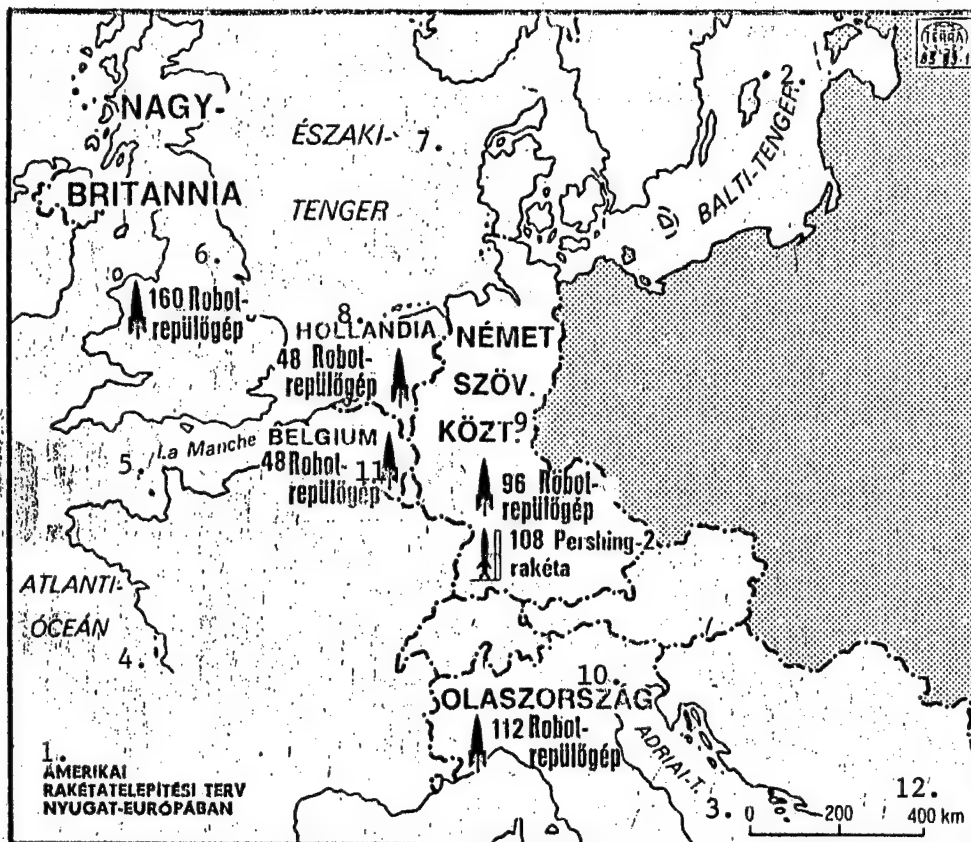
- Key:
- 1. program controlled portable rocket
  - 2. point of sensing by locator.
  - 3. final maneuver.
  - 4. impact point.
  - 5. target.
  - 6. sensing by the locator.
  - 7. comparison area.

This midcourse guidance results in the especially accurate arrival on target, and this justifies the relatively low strength of the nuclear charge--equivalent to only about 20-40 kilotons of TNT.



## Global Consequences

Figure 3. Washington is planning to deploy a total of 108 Pershing-2 missiles and 464 robot airplanes in Great Britain, Holland, Belgium, the Federal Republic of Germany and Italy.



- Key:
1. American missile deployment plan in Western Europe.
  2. Baltic sea.
  3. Adriatic sea.
  4. Atlantic ocean.
  5. La Manche Channel.
  6. North sea.
  7. Great Britain-160 robot airplanes.
  8. Holland-48 airplanes.
  9. Federal Republic of Germany-96 robot airplanes, 108 Pershing missiles.
  10. Italy-112 robot airplanes.
  11. Belgium-48 robot airplanes.
  12. Scale, 0-200-400 kilometers.

The approximately 10 minute advantage represented by the Pershing-2 does not in itself seem to be much. But the early warning provided by manmade satellites may be very important in many respects because it triggers timely counterstrikes. After all, 108 missile weapons of this type--knowing the Soviet and American military arsenals--can not lead to the development of an overwhelming American superiority, but by all means as the beginning of a dangerous trend it will influence not only the European but also the Soviet-American military strength relationships: with its extremely short flight time it modifies the presently existing balance of threat since the Soviet Union does not have similar capabilities in the direction of the United States.

The Soviet response measures beginning in response to the deployment of the Pershing-2 missiles are designed to reestablish this balance of threat. On the one hand these equalize the threat against the FRG which is accepting the missiles, with that of the Eastern European targets of the Pershing-2, and on the other hand they bring a few important targets of the United States into the same proximity as quite a few Soviet targets have come for the new American missiles.

8584

CSO: 2500/122

PROFESSIONAL SITUATION OF INTELLECTUALS SEEN DISMAL

Budapest NEPSZAVA in Hungarian 10 Nov 83 p 7

[Report by Szabo, "On the Situation of the Intelligentsia--Conference of the Central Management of the Printers' Union"]

[Text] The Labor Union of the Printing and Paper Industries and the Press surveyed the situation of the technical-economic intelligentsia in 13 factories of the Paper Industry Enterprise and in 23 printeries. Its findings were discussed Wednesday by the central management of the branch union. The material was verbally supplemented by Tibor Harai, secretary of the central management.

It was generally found that this stratum works "in the vicinity of production," but that it has excessive administrative duties and thus little time remains for creative activity. The practical knowledge of those who have traditional degrees is deficient and, in addition, most of them are reluctant to directly supervise production. Technical specialists know little about economics, and economists know even less about technology. The area in which they are most deficient is language. Their extension training cannot be accomplished in spite of the various courses offered. All in all, their potential mental power remains unused.

Their moral recognition is adequate; however, this cannot be said of their financial recognition. Few of them make use of the brigade movement although the so-called complex brigades are, both formally and essentially suitable for bringing the physical workers and the intellectuals together. The stratum's income has generally increased in 3 years although the survey showed that at a few enterprises the incomes of those in management positions have decreased. It is an interesting phenomenon that at several enterprises the managers are not the ones who receive the highest pay. It was also generally found that graduates at the beginning of their careers take a long time to catch up with the pay of skilled workers of their own age. Undoubtedly this is also a factor why replacement in management positions is so difficult.

Their social situation is determined by their income on the one hand, and by their difficulties in obtaining a home on the other hand.

In his verbal supplement, Tibor Harai said, among other things, that this survey has been considered the most important subject since their congress, and the reason for this is that its findings can be used not only for defining the immediate tasks but also for making a long-range prognosis. In addition, the intelligentsia, as the main subject of this survey, deserves special attention from the aspect of the interest of the branch as well as the national economy. And if the union does not wish to be accused of guarding only the interests of the workers, then it is high time to put an adequate emphasis on the intelligentsia's interests.

The secretary of the central management noted that undoubtedly many people think about the question whether there are too many or too few graduates in this industrial branch. If we consider that, for example, in the last 10 years 500 printing industry engineers graduated from college, this is not a bad ratio. But if we consider that their ratio in the printing industry is 5 percent, and in the paper industry 6.4 percent, then we cannot be satisfied, for there are many places in Europe where this ratio is twice as high. There are few people with a degree in economics who end up in these two branches.

At the end, Tibor Harai talked about the responsibility of society and the enterprises to safeguard the technical-economic intelligentsia's interests and to give an adequate financial recognition. The union movement itself must also deal with an entire series of related problems. Such a problem is, for example, the federation of directors and economic managers.

Various opinions surfaced during the debate. One speaker said that, even on the social level, we are in the 24th hour to deal with the intelligentsia's rightful demands. But there was another speaker who said that the movement should not defeat its purpose by going to the other extreme by over-emphasizing the tasks related to the intelligentsia's situation. Several speakers mentioned the importance of the selection of managers, saying that it is creativity that determines whether someone is suitable for a management post. There were those who mentioned the difficulties related to differentiation and then stated that the differentiation of the intelligentsia's earnings should not be accomplished at the expense of the workers. The union was also criticized for not always giving reasons for measures taken and for not explaining decisions rationally. There were those who argued that wages should not be determined on the basis of position, responsibility or degree but on that of the usefulness and value of the work accomplished.

The syndicate then agreed that the report and the decision plan were realistic, and accepted them.

9414

CSO: 2500/97

NEW BOOKS AT FAIR PROMOTE DEMOCRATIC POLITICAL THOUGHT

Budapest MAGYAR NEMZET in Hungarian 6 Nov 83 p 5

[Article by Gy. J., "Politics and Historical Awareness"]

[Text] The various agricultural, children's, technical and economic book days are supposed to attract attention. They also indicate that the reading public cannot be considered a homogenous mass; directed books and directed information must meet a wide variety of demand indeed. It has been for 22 years now that political book days have been organized around 7 November. The books displayed and recommended show that the organizers of the event use the adjective "political" loosely. The volumes include timely and every-day political works, the speeches of contemporary statesmen, documents of communist and labor parties as well as scholarly essays, scientific writings and even reports. Most of this year's books, however, can be regarded as political mainly by virtue of the use of the word in their classification: economic policy, social policy, educational policy, art policy and--political awareness. Everyone can select anything, according to his taste, from the multitude of themes and areas; however, this multitude is not only a mere variety. In looking through the works published for the political book days, a tendency becomes apparent: the Kossuth Publishing House, the organizer of the event, orients its readers by publishing in the course of the campaign such books that deal--either in a popular or in a scientific way--with questions of public concern.

Not only the volumes dealing with economic tasks and problems and with political view but also at least as much history, a branch (if not the branch) of social sciences can be included here, attracting the widest interest. People today pay more and more attention to history, looking for answers for today's pressing questions through learning more about the deeper connections of the roots and antecedents. This puts ever more responsibility on all those who help in finding these answers through their research and knowledge.

The recognition of this responsibility is also manifest in the Kossuth Publishing House's awards which were given to the recipients in the course of the political book days. Historians, and the authors of works that are especially important from the viewpoint of our historical awareness and

its development, received these awards. Is it necessary to argue for the need for Maria Ormos unbelievably thorough and concise monograph which, under the title "From Padua to Trianon," shows and explains how, after the armistice of World War I leading to the dictates of the victorious Entente powers, the work of peace was born which defined the face of Central Eastern Europe? Does it need a lengthy elaboration why Gyula Juhasz's study about Hungary's intellectuality and attitude before and during World War II, or Jeno Gergely's great history of the popes that is both scientific and popular, giving a good foundation for the dialogue between atheists and believes, were sorely needed? And it is hardly necessary to quote dates for the recognition how fruitful the view and description is in the discussion of the history of labor movement which is characteristic of the works of Gyorgy Borsanyi, Ivan Harsanyi or Janos Kende.

The new volumes published for the political book days serve the ever more general effort to free political thought from as many formalisms as possible so that it can analyze the past and the present most thoroughly and thus can become an efficient help in the unfolding of democracy.

9414  
CSO: 2500/97

PROVINCIAL PARTY ACTIVITIES REPORTED

Party Problems Discussed Openly

Bydgoszcz GAZETA POMORSKA in Polish 1 Dec 83 p 3

[Article by Marek Heyza]

[Text] Almost every report and discussion, even when weak, in its own way depicts the party organization at the PZPR reports-elections conference and indirectly mirrors the problems which trouble the entire workforce. It was the same at the conferences in the FAMOR Ship Fittings Plants in Bydgoszcz and in the Bydgoszcz Engineering Construction Enterprise [BPBI].

Two problems raised at the conference in BPBI dominated the discussion. They relate to points in resolutions which were not implemented during the past term. During the reports period, 12 resolutions were passed pertaining to matters of economy, social activities of the enterprise, protection of property, and problems of organization and political ideology. Two points, therefore, are not much, but the discussion showed that they are very important to the comrades in BPBI.

In a July 1983 resolution the Factory Committee stated that it had accepted for the record the expulsion from the PZPR by the District Party Organization (OOP) of several members because their attitudes had been determined to be negative and because they refused to implement party decisions. According to the resolution, this also constitutes withdrawal of recommendation for management positions filled by these individuals. During the conference a discussion evolved in connection with this. Although it pertained to only one member expelled from the PZPR, it appeared from the utterances of delegates at the conference that in using this case as an example they were attempting to expand upon the party's role in cadre policy--so important to the functioning of the party.

The managing director of the enterprise did not implement the resolution of his PZPR organization--such was the conclusion that could be drawn from the fact that he did not make a decision to fire the worker on whom the recommendation had been withdrawn. Speaking on this subject, comrade Edward Pankau (legal adviser) said that expulsion from the PZPR, according to regulations, is not sufficient cause for dismissal from a management position. Other comrades argued with this viewpoint. Comrade Ryszard Lubinski (managing director) said, however: We are always very quick to dump someone. Has anyone stopped to



consider why this comrade turned in his membership card? He is one of the best managers. He works with his people in the mud from morning until night, and does more than they do. This is a young engineer who has been in this plant from the beginning of his career. Could it be that other comrades are responsible for his attitude, that they did not help him enough? Was not the decision to expel him from the party made too hastily? Did all of those who left the party have to do so? Could not they have been saved for the PZPR? We do not work enough with the party members. This is a subject, concluded comrade Lubinski, for the new, now-elected authorities. Comrade Wojciech Tomczak took the fundamental position in the discussion. He said that no one is being denied entry to management positions. Even nonparty people can occupy these positions if they are people who are well-disposed to socialism. If a manager has a negative effect on his subordinates because he has a poor political attitude, then he is performing his role as a manager badly, stressed comrade Tomczak.

The opinions cited illustrate a certain divergence of views. There is no doubt that a party organization should respect its resolutions and enforce their execution or, if it changes its mind, revise its decision. It was not said equivocally at the conference whether the manager expelled from the party actually had a destructive influence on his subordinates. This is a difficult matter but, as the re-elected first secretary of the Factory Committee (KZ), comrade Edmund Maciejewski, said, it will be thoroughly investigated because the party organization cannot evade difficult problems. And so the speaker who emphasized the need for greater contact with the rank-and-file PZPR members was indisputably correct.

The relationship of the party organization to the trade union aroused some controversy at the conference in the BPBI. Its establishment, as the KZ stated in its October resolution, "has encountered serious difficulties. There is an invisible barrier which inhibits the flow of workers into this organization. We can talk about a distinct stagnation, a passive resistance, and also about underestimation of the trade union by the enterprise's administration." Speaking at the conference in behalf of the KZ, comrade Maciejewski admitted that many matters taken up by the union and the workers' council coincide, and that the opinions and decisions expressed are diametrically different. It is important, therefore, he said, that those areas of responsibility that have not been unequivocally defined in the laws be defined in favor of the workforce. Comrade Lech Graf reacted sharply to this: The union, he said, received a powerful weapon for the struggle for workers' matters. And here instead of acting we are talking about some kind of legacy, some kind of struggles with the workers' council. It is time to end this guerrilla warfare! The workers are very sensitive to what the union is, to whether it is important to them. It is time to begin to act to make it visible in the enterprise...

This utterance honed the problem somewhat. In the opinion of other comrades, it is not a "guerrilla war" in the BPBI that is at stake, but a reconciliation of both representative bodies. The party members can play a large role here. Unfortunately, despite the resolution passed at the reports meeting in March 1983, only 39 comrades who joined the union felt morally obligated to support it. No one at the conference argued with the position of the KZ that the time has come for joint cooperation by the trade union, the party and the administration, to

develop a method to break the impasse, and "one way is to enlarge the role of the union in the enterprise's operations, giving it all of the areas of responsibility ensuing from statutory activities and social perceptions." The BPBI comrades considered how to define the tasks for themselves in a resolution but unfortunately this discussion, which promised to be interesting, had to be interrupted because it turned out that as the conference ended a quorum was lacking for passage of a resolution. Therefore, it will be necessary to return to this matter shortly.

The past term was a very difficult period for the FAMOR Bydgoszcz party organization. Although past experiences have weakened the PZPR elements, realization that these inadequacies exist has produced the general conviction that the time has come to strengthen the party and to combat its weaknesses. It is well, therefore, that attention was called to it in the report of the outgoing KZ. The first secretary of the KZ, comrade Eugeniusz Pilarski, focused attention on this subject in the discussion. He reminded that at the previous conference the lack of guidance to the OOP was recognized, but nothing was done about this because most of the departmental organizations did not conduct their statutory monthly meetings. When, after a year, several subjects were suggested to the OOP for selection for their meetings, it turned out to be a good endeavor. However, the unwillingness of two OOP to undertake party functions is an unfavorable sign. It is strange, underscored comrade E. Pilarski, that among the resisters are comrades who, through the recommendation of the party organization, were sent to and completed technical schools for excellent workers. The small size of the aktiv is attributed also to other reasons. They include the failure to appoint KZ problem commissions during the past term, the failure to make use of plant conference delegates in the OOP and party groups, the indecisive position of some of the management cadre in relation to the party's and government's decisions, and also the failure on the part of some OOP and group secretaries to transmit information regularly available to them. The reflection and direct cause of this situation in FAMOR is the attendance at training sessions, despite the fact that they were led by good lecturers. But the result of the "failure to appear" of the rank-and-file PZPR members in workplace activities is an aging of the FAMOR organization, the lack of young people in it, which makes for little interest in preparing youth for political work by the ZSMP (Union of Polish Socialist Youth) operating in this area.

The "who is to blame" speech by E. Pilarski, contrary to my expectations, did not evoke a discussion on intraparty subjects which are so vital for the PZPR plant organization. Why? He did not mince words. He stated the problems so succinctly that not much could be added--several comrades explained to me on the sidelines. In any case, the tasks assigned for the next term in the conference's resolution confirm this. But this does not mean that the discussion ended with one speech. It was one of the best at the factory's party forum, as various comrades admitted. In the speeches such matters were brought up as the functioning of the trade unions, the ZSMP, the propaganda weaknesses, the publications policy, social justice, but most attention was focused (in connection with the presence at the conference of Minister Stanislaw Ciosek) on wage problems. Comrade Tadeusz Drat brought up several of these problems. He expressed the fear that FAMOR's pursuit for orders may bring sad results in the future, for as a consequence less effort than in the past is devoted to measures which would bring technical progress. However, the institution of a so-called

"attendance allowance" turned out to be effective. Comrade Drat confirmed this observation by saying that there are those who could have been suspected of shirking in the past. Now they are coming to work regularly.

Comrade Teodor Poplowski also spoke out on the matter of wages. He is disturbed by the situation in the serial production assembly department where the work rhythm is fixed and it is difficult to increase productivity, thus increasing earnings. The threat of a decline in employment hangs over us, he said. People are leaving because of low wages. He suggests that the minister introduce work indexes different than those now in effect.

Matters which disturb the workforce were talked about boldly and with interest at the conference in FAMOR. Could it be that bringing them up, often with results, is responsible for the fact that even the nonparty people are turning to the KZ with their problems and seeking help?

The PZPR reports-electoral conferences in BPBI, FAMOR and other enterprises, institutions and offices make it possible to describe the characteristic features of the present campaign. In dealing with problems the comrades are avoiding sham, empty words, they call things as they are, and seek causes for events. And that is why they are finding solutions both for PZPR matters as well as for the workforces among which the party operates.

#### Reports-Elections Meeting of Local Party

Olsztyn GAZETA OLSZTYNSKA in Polish 1 Dec 83 p 5

[Text] The reports-election meeting of the "Zatorze" Local Party Organization (TOP), one of the largest Olsztyn districts, was held on 26 November. During the discussion viewpoints were exchanged pertaining to intraparty problems and many vital matters relating to the significance of TOP work in integrating the community in the "Zatorze" district were brought up. Many of those taking part in the discussion evaluated the activity of the administrative institutions and social organizations in this district, and particularly the work of the Residential Housing Administration (ADM), trade and the housing committee. One important demand was that of raising the level of concern for the esthetics of the housing community and public order and safety. The proposals embodied in the discussion were the subject of a speech by Comrade Wieslaw Szymł, who also assessed the past activity of the party organization.

Comrade Jan Olczak was elected first secretary of TOP "Zatorze". The past first secretary, comrade Stanislaw Wawrowski, a long-time activist in the workers' movement, was voted an expression of gratitude.

## Party Reports-Elections Campaign

Olsztyn GAZETA OLSZTYNSKA in Polish 1 Dec 83 p 3

[Article by Henryk Lesniowski]

[Text] The gmina party organization in Grunwald has 354 members and candidates, made up of workers and peasants. Primary party organizations (POP) function in all plants in the gmina.

A reports-elections conference was held recently in the State Farms (PGR) Dylewo hall, attended by 61 delegates out of the 70 that were elected. Janusz Lecewicz, Gmina Committee (KG) first secretary, read the report.

--Prior to 13 December 1981, Lecewicz said, we tried to solve all conflicts as they arose, feeling that that was in the public interest. After martial law was declared, we learned how many people among us are willing to make sacrifices. Without calls or appeals, without resounding words, they reported to the Gmina Committee, giving of themselves their energy, enthusiasm and time. During this period, the party organizations which guided the political activity, tried to create an atmosphere of honest work. They were concerned about protecting the basic interests of the people employed in the workplaces, as well as those of the private farmers.

As the union movement was revived the party organization was the main initiator in the establishment of trade unions in the enterprises. These are now present in all plants and represent 44.5 percent of those employed.

The party put a great deal of effort into creating organizational units in the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth (PRON). The gmina PRON council now demonstrates a great deal of initiative in solving the social problems of the gmina and has in its ranks many people of different convictions.

--The cooperation of the PZPR Gmina Committee with the United Peasant Party (ZSL) Main Committee is very good, Janusz Lecewicz said. This was revealed by the organizing of joint plenary meetings, joint meetings of the POP and the ZSL circles, by the organizing of political training, and by joint solving of social and economic problems in the countryside.

Recognizing food production to be the most important problem, the KG created a climate of praise and respect for good farmers while expressing disapproval of those who manage badly. Another type of activity were interventions. During the past term, letters and complaints from 230 citizens came into the KG. They encompassed the most important fields of socioeconomic and political life, and also the everyday problems harassing people. The KG and the Gmina Audit Commission investigated all of these matters, conducted hearings, gave assistance, and determined the sources and causes of improprieties which complicate daily living.

--Unfortunately, we did not always achieve the desired results in our work, the PZPR KG first secretary said. There are still POP which show no initiative and are not capable of guiding the political activities in their community. The particularly good ones include the POP in Szczepankowo, Mielno, Dylewo, and those connected with the Gmina Collective School. Every party member must also be aware of the fact that his work, the opinions he expresses, and his conduct in his private life reflect on the opinion about the entire party.

--Cultivation of national traditions plays a large part in our ideological activities, Janusz Lecewicz said. The fact that there is a place in the gmina which recalls one of the greatest triumphs of Polish weaponry and the united Slavic forces over the Teutonic invaders gives us an obligation to make the Fields of Grunwald a showplace in the gmina. The country's economic difficulties limit and postpone the full and dignified management of the battlefields. It is our duty to strive to develop the Grunwald Fund and to conduct ideological training work among the youth and society as a whole.

During the discussion the delegates and invited guests presented the problems which trouble the party organization and the gmina inhabitants. Danuta Kosakowska discussed problems relating to services offered by the Gmina Administration. The party members who work there passed a resolution aimed at making their work more efficient. All complaints and comments were examined in detail. We want every person leaving the Gmina office, she said, to be convinced that he was dealt with speedily and correctly. She proposed also that a public committee for construction of a health center be appointed. In addition to their work, party members from the Gmina Office are declaring certain sums out of their pay.

Everyone wants to be on the safe side. People are avoiding criticism, but a party member must be courageous. He must criticize those who are enriching themselves at the expense of the misery of others, Edward Derbin said. He also analyzed the reasons for the drop in hog production and suggested the need to institute compensation for farmers who buy artificial fertilizers early. Until recently we complained of a shortage of fertilizers. Now the warehouses are full, but there is a shortage of purchasers.

The State Farms lack workers because there is no place for them to live, said Maciej Jankowski. But on the other hand many obtain housing and after several months leave their jobs. We must prevent this, but on the other hand we should develop our own construction.

Education is in a difficult situation. The school in Gierzwald which was supposed to have 120 students now has 260. The school day ends at 4 pm, and after a year it will be extended to 6 pm, Michal Zuk said. Therefore, we must implement the resolution of the KG plenary meeting on construction of a new school as quickly as possible. We must also give some thought to housing for teachers. Eleven of them will retire next year and the school does not have even one house.

Tadeusz Polek spoke of tasks for the party member. The head of the PZPR Provincial Committee Political-Organization Department, Henryk Migus, referred

to this speech. He said that shortcomings in party organizational activity include failure to observe the principles of assigning tasks to individual members and holding them accountable for accomplishing these tasks before the entire organization. The inspirational and control function of the POP in the social and economic life of the plants of the countryside and community must also be greater.

Marianna Watla brought greetings to the delegates from the ZSL Gmina Committee.

By secret ballot the Gmina Committee was elected. Janusz Lecewicz was reelected first secretary (with four votes against). Jerzy Marchlewski was elected chairman of the Gmina Audit Commission (also by secret ballot).

During the conference a group of meritorious party activists received honor awards -- the "Warmia and Mazur Merit Award". Recipients included Kazimierz Conkala, Marian Wojciechowski, Jerzy Leski, Maria Sochacka, Czeslaw Jaworski, Stanislaw Gestwicki and Tadeusz Smalec.

#### Construction Works POP Meets

Olsztyn GAZETA OLSZTYNSKA in Polish 1 Dec 83 p 3

[Article by W. Chelchowski]

[Text] The Construction Works in Olsztyn builds one-fourth of the multifamily housing in the Olsztyn Province. In the last few years it released for occupancy an average of 1,000 yearly of such impatiently awaited apartments plus many allied buildings. Currently the Works employs 1,174 workers. On 15 November 1983 a reports-elections meeting of the POP at the Works was held. The report of the outgoing Factory Committee was delivered by Alfred Wenzlawski, first secretary. Following are some of the matters with which the POP in the Works concerned itself during the past term.

During the period of social unrest (mainly during 1981) many initiatives were undertaken, and attempts were made to include the activities of Solidarity into these initiatives. As a result, an atmosphere of calm and understanding prevailed in the plant.

POP now has 86 members and 2 candidates, which is 13 members and candidates less than at the beginning of the term. Some of the party members resigned and others were expelled since their personal attitudes did not conform to PZPR statute. New people are coming into the POP. Two good and active workers were taken into the party at the reports-elections meeting: Zygmunt Charubin and Eugeniusz Kusnierski.

At the initiative of the POP, an interim workers' self-government was formed in April 1981. Its activity during this difficult time contributed to the integration of the entire workforce. On 1 September 1982 the workers' self-government renewed its activity and entered into the socioeconomic life in the Works, undertaking difficult problems and seeking ways to solve them.

A new union organization was registered on 24 May 1983. At the moment, it is quite small.



At the proposal of the POP joint meetings are being held this year of the executive board, the directors of the Works, the "Jaroty" (investor) Housing Cooperative and main subcontractor of the Works, and the Olsztyn Sanitation and Electrical Installation Enterprise. The primary goal of these meetings is coordination of actions relating to planned housing and allied construction. In this way several problems were jointly resolved.

The meetings, begun in March 1982, between the directorate and the representatives of the POP, the workers' self-governments and the trade unions, and the workforces of individual organizational units, became an interesting and useful form of work. The meetings deal with problems which interest the workforce. In this way the workers are able to directly submit their proposals, comments and problems. These meetings do not always proceed smoothly and many difficult problems are brought up. The advantages of this are obvious, for the workforce, for the directorate, for the Works and for the sociopolitical organizations. The program of activities provides that these forms of meetings will be continued.

During the discussion the following matters were brought up: Comrade Sosnowski talked about the attitude of the party member during the difficult period of our existence. Comrade Kulesza believes that the organization structure in the form of the Factory Committee and the OOP did not pass the test in practice and proposed that there be a return to the POP. This motion was passed by the POP.

During the exchange of opinions on the subject of changes in food prices the directorate was obligated to appoint a team which would collect the opinion of the entire workforce on this matter and submit it to the appropriate authorities.

The first secretary of the City Committee (KM) Stefan Strumillo, assessed the work of the POP in the name of the primary echelon. The position of the POP in the difficult situation was good. POP is developing and is accepting new members into its ranks. Cooperation of POP with KM is developing well. The weaker side, said comrade Strumillo, of our activity (as a Works) are some matters of organization of production. It is true that you work outdoors, where people can see you, and that your work is difficult. The criticism pertains to disorder on the worksites. We receive many reports on this subject from the Jaroty community. Workers' matters are often neglected. For example, there was no hot water for a time in the transport-equipment facility. The economic side of the enterprise is not the best.

Matters of production and economic results, aside from the comments during the discussion by the director of the Works, were not gone into further at this meeting. The outgoing executive board explained that these matters were the subject of earlier deliberations at POP meetings. Today concentration was supposed to be on intraparty and sociopolitical themes.

I returned to this subject matter in the next few days after the reports meeting. The Works director, comrade Jan Wieczorek, said the following on the subject of the situation at the enterprise: Labor productivity in basic production,



calculating in zlotys per one employee, indeed dropped and amounted to 93.7 percent for 10 months of this year, as compared to the same period last year. This is due mainly to the fact that the Works operates on the basis of 1982 prices. We made no price increases on our production in 1983. However, calculating labor productivity in natural units (usable floor space in square meters per one employee in basic production), it is as follows: in 1980, 133 square meters of usable floor space total, including 16.6 square meters in allied buildings; in 1981, 135 square meters and 6.6 square meters, respectively; in 1982, 134 and 29.6 square meters; and in 1983, 139 and 30.7 square meters.

These data show incontrovertibly that labor productivity in our enterprise is not falling, but the difficulty of execution of tasks is rising because of the growth of buildings which accompany housing construction. We are making up the arrears of the past years. The maintenance of 1982 prices also affects the amount of profit. Last year it amounted to 126 million zlotys. We projected a profit of 36 million zlotys for the current year. We have already earned 31 million zlotys in 10 months. The decreased profit this year will not affect the enterprise's results. The sum remaining in the Works will not be much smaller.

--How about implementation of the housing construction plan for this year?--I asked the director. We have committed ourselves in the plan to complete 1,069 apartments. Thus far we have completed 821. That leaves 248 to be finished by the end of December, of which 98 will probably not be built.

--The inhabitants of Olsztyn are interested in how completion of tasks for 1984 and 1985 looks.

--We intend to build 948 apartments next year, replied Wieczorek, and 15,000 square meters of surface in accompanying buildings. That is what we can realistically do. This is 171 apartments less than the 3-year plan for this year. The situation for 1985 looks much worse. The plan envisages the building of 1,470 apartments. That would be a jump of 55 percent in one year. This is impossible.

Other Works employees believe that this is a task which is absolutely impossible to complete during 1985.

During the meeting the problem of blue-collar, white-collar employee relations was touched upon only lightly. Asked about this after the meeting, the newly elected first secretary of the POP, Bogumil Kulesza, said: The reasons for the discussion and the differences of opinions between workers in these groups are diverse. Not all matters that annoy workers can be settled. For example, 150 workers now were not furnished rubber boots. Despite strenuous efforts there was no way at all that they could be obtained. Yet the workers blame this on incompetence and lack of concern by the administration.

Director Wieczorek says there is no basis for differences between blue and white-collar workers. This year wages were raised an average of over 25 percent. The average monthly wage with compensation and profit-sharing for 1982 for 10 months amounted to 13,150 zlotys; the average for the white-collar workers was 13,122 zlotys, and for the blue-collar workers, 14,356 in basic production.

In view of the fact that piece-work was instituted this year, there is a possibility of higher earnings in this group. Quantitatively, the white-collar workers do not exceed 24 percent of the entire workforce. The Works director believes, however, that the technical-engineering cadre and the entire administration is not active enough in the area of work organization which would enable the workers to better execute their tasks.

At the end of the deliberations of the reports-election meeting, the POP at the Building Works passed a resolution condemning the aggressive policies of the United States and approved a program of action for the next term.

#### Awareness of Party Objectives, Activities

Zielona Gora GAZETA LUBUSKA in Polish 1 Dec 83 pp 1, 2

[Article by (sc)]

[Text] The discussion lasted several hours during the reports-elections conference of the PZPR KZ (Factory Committee) in the "Silwana" Silk Industry Plants in Gorzow. The discussion and motions proposed prove that future results in political work which would increase the strength and authority of the POP and allow the plant to deal with the hard economic realities are dependent upon a "partnership" functioning of the enterprise. It is there, at every work station, in the attitudes of every work and party member to his obligations, that success in strengthening the party and the economics of the plant will be determined.

The discussion showed that a great deal was lacking in the activities of the plant and party organization and that attempts had already been made to correct this during the past term when the primary task of political work was found to be the integration of the entire workforce around the basic problems of the plant. This task is still current, except that conditions and needs have given these problems another quality and rank. In view of the known next-year economic realities and the mechanisms of reform, the state of the plants economics and the welfare of the workforce will be depend primarily, as the discussion showed, on the success in the reduction of manufacturing costs, the improvement in production quality, and the growth of labor productivity. The cost-effectiveness standards and the wage-incentive system now being applied, which will work together in committing every unit and every worker to work harder, should help in achieving these objectives.

The success of these intentions will also be decided by the quality of the political work done by the plant's party organization, i.e., the participation of every one of its members in its implementation. An active participation, supported by knowledge, inspiration and the personal example of the good worker. A great deal more can be done here, at least in the area of party discipline, quality of ideological training, work on expansion of party membership, flow of political and economic information, or cooperation with a youth organization involved in the implementation of joint aims of the youngest and also the most numerous part of the workforce.

The awareness of the political and economic tasks and the knowledge of how to perform them constitutes a guarantee that the "Silwana" party organization will correctly fulfill its leadership function in the plant and among the workforce. That is how the course of this meeting can be summed up. The delegates elected at the City Reports-Elections Conference in Gorzow included a member of one of the "Silwana" OOP, first secretary of the PZPR Provincial Committee, Florian Ratajczak.

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Reports-elections conferences of PZPR Factory Committees were also held in many other workplaces in the Gorzow Province, including in the Barlinek BOMET, the Gorzow Przemyslaw Wielkopolska Tourist Enterprise, and agricultural plants in Osno, Mysliborz and Choszczno. In the latter places the deliberations concentrated around problems dealing with growth of farm production, improvement in the social conditions of workforces, party strengthening and increasing its participation in the activities of workers' self-governments and trade unions. Attention was also called to the need to improve the quality and productivity of labor, the elimination of waste, indolence and neglect of duties, which should become the task of every party member. Joint efforts should also be made to improve the housing situation for workforces of agricultural plants and to modernize farm buildings. The main obstacle here is the lack of building materials and funds.

Yesterday a reports-elections conference of the PZPR Factory Committee in STILON was held, and today meetings will be held in the Mechanical Plants. On Saturday, the third of this month, a conference is to be held by the PZPR Factory Committee in the Kostrzyn Paper Factories.

9295

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# ACHIEVEMENTS OF 12TH MECHANIZED DIVISION SUMMARIZED

Szczecin KURIER SZCZECINSKI in Polish 12 Oct 83 pp 1,4

[Interview with the deputy commander of the 12th Mechanized Division, Col Jozef Tarka, by Edward Wituszynski: "A Title to the Name of Szczecin Division."]

[Text] Today we celebrate the 40th anniversary of the Polish People's Army. The People's Army 12th Mechanized Division constitutes an integral part of Szczecin's social landscape. We talked with the deputy commander of the 12th Mechanized Division, Col Jozef Tarka.

[Question] The 12th Mechanized Division is an outstanding tactical unit within the Polish People's Army. How can one describe the achievements of the 12th Division and of its units during the 40 years of the Polish People's Army?

[Answer] There is only one answer to a question formulated in this manner: generally speaking, model fulfillment of everyday soldierly duties and civic responsibilities. I am aware that this might not be a satisfactory answer, and so I will attempt to substantiate these more general statements with concrete examples. The division does not have a fighting tradition dating to the Second World War, although its beginnings are connected with the plan to build up the Polish Army developed in the fall of 1944. The first tasks of the division after its organization in the spring of 1945, and after training, was to protect an important segment of the new western frontier of Poland and to secure the newly liberated Szczecin territory. Other tasks of that period involved such spheres of activity as the recolonization of these territories, securing and utilizing the national property, and work in the defense-propaganda groups, since that was the time of the People's Referendum and of elections to the Legislative Sejm. These were the first achievements of our division. They culminated in our receiving the medal of "Pomeranian Griffin" from the Presidium of the Provincial People's Council; this distinction came already in 1948.

In the 40th anniversary year of the Polish People's Army, the division stands at roll-call with achievements which are important even for the Armed Forces and the Pomeranian Military District. This is the case above all because of high fighting abilities and also because of the training-educational results verified during inspections and exercises on firing ranges and exercise

fields. The second important element is the high level of activity of our soldiers in initiating socially useful endeavors in our region and in the city. This allows us to maintain good relations with the society and also, I believe, to gain social sympathy for people in army uniforms.

On several occasions the division was decorated for its achievements in the military service, and in 1982 it was decorated for outstanding achievements in the military service. The year 1983 has not ended yet, but it was a good year for us, and we expect that the efforts of the division will be appreciated.

[Question] A modern army requires that increased importance be given to fighting techniques. An observation of exercises, even when conducted by a civilian, confirms the excellent mastery of arms and equipment by soldiers. How does it happen and what factors influence the fact that a 20-year-old man is able to assume the responsibilities of a soldier and that he develops positive aspects of his character: courage, resourcefulness, efficiency, high discipline?

[Answer] The contemporary Polish People's Army represents a military force which is morally and combatively cohesive, has a modern organization, equipment and arms. Armored and mechanized divisions with permanent combat readiness constitute a basic force of the operational army, while the main fire power is provided by tactical and operational-tactical rocket units, whose firing range and parameters are being constantly improved. The equipment of riflemen is dominated by rapid fire guns. Equipment progress has allowed us to increase the number of bullets fired per minute by all-army tactical units. A pre-war division of Polish infantry could use during such a period 15.2 tons of ammunition, Tadeusz Kosciuszko Infantry Division No 1 used in some moments of the battle of Lenino in 1943 some 23.3 tons of ammunition. The equipment and combat skills of soldiers in a contemporary mechanized division make it capable of using effectively 50 tons of various shells per minute.

The modern character of the army, the increased weight and importance of fighting technology place every greater demands on individual soldiers and on entire units. In a contemporary war, the greater the development of fighting technology, the more important the moral and political attitudes of people who participate in it and the extent of their military training become. This fact lies at the basis of the system of training and education in the Polish People's Army. The training process is among the most serious undertakings accomplished within the defense system of the country in a period of peace. To a large extent the level of training is decisive for the success of possible future war activities. We are fully aware of this fact and this is the reason for, for example, the concrete nature of training, the selection of subjects which are taught, the modernity of training bases, as well as the full use of achievements of such sciences as psychology, sociology and didactics in the process of training and education of soldiers and units. And this is the answer to the question about the sources of the soldierly efficiency and civic attitudes of the 20-year-olds in army uniforms.

All endeavors aiming at teaching courage, resourcefulness, efficiency and high executive discipline are subordinated to the ideological teaching process in which the most important aspect is to raise soldiers in the conviction that the patriotic and international alliance with the Soviet Union and with other countries of the socialist community, united in the Warsaw Pact, constitute the basis of people's defense. The entirety of training and ideological educational work are based on the principle of the unity of training and education and on the principle of the one-person command system. One of the basic reasons for our success is the professional cadre, its preparation, involvement and devotion to service. This cadre forms the attitudes of soldiers and units so that they are such as you remember them from the exercises and from your stay with the units.

[Question] In the hour of national trial the army proved equal to the task and contained the internal anarchy while at the same time making a contribution to straightening out the economy...

[Answer] The armed forces of every country, thus also ours, in some situations fulfill both internal and external functions. The lifting of martial law does not necessarily free us, the Armed Forces, and that includes the People's Army 12th Mechanized Division, of the responsibilities which we fulfilled in the period just past. After the lifting of martial law, when our country enters a new stage of its history, we are still responsible for the fate of our motherland, for the internal peace and security of the country, especially in the face of hostile, imperialist threats and of the actions of their helpers from our own backyards. We proved equal to the tasks of the past, we will also prove equal to whatever the future might bring and we will do so, above all, by intensive training, by deeper ideological-educational work and by paying attention to processes taking place in the social life and participating in them. We are an integral part of the society and of the state. As the examples of the past demonstrate, we serve the society and we execute the tasks which are placed upon us by the party, by the authorities and by the nation.

[Question] The People's Army 12th Mechanized Division is often called the Szczecin Division. How deep are the links with the society and how are they expressed?

[Answer] We can be only proud of the fact that the cooperation with the Szczecin region community can be called a separate page in the tradition of the division because of the many directions in which it developed, because of its reach and results. The extent of this cooperation, link with the society, is so great that we can only briefly cite some examples. Let us look to history. Between 1945 and 1948, soldiers of the division uncovered from the land over 3,000,000 mines and unexploded shells. The settlers from the entire country moving to this very empty region of the country felt much safer knowing the presence of Polish soldiers. Every year from 1000 to 4000 soldiers help in agricultural tasks. More than 500 soldiers per year gain, and almost 1300 soldiers improve, their qualifications which are useful in civilian life. Many of them settle permanently in the Szczecin region. Approximately 15 percent of the professional cadres are involved in the

activities of various bodies, institutions and other social organizations. Few people remember that the streetcar line to Glebokie built in the 1950's was constructed by soldiers.

In the 1970's alone we gave our province 15 bridges which were constructed among others, near the towns of Lobez, Tanowo, Chojna, Kamien Pomorski, Police, and others. We were cofounders of the Summer Theater and of the dendrology garden, we participated in the construction of one of the water intakes for the city of Szczecin. On a daily basis we cooperate with 24 schools and 22 factories, we patronize many undertakings of the Szczecin ZBoWiD [Union of Fighters for Freedom and Democracy] and ZIW [Union of Disabled Veterans]. We promulgate knowledge about the defense and we participate in the patriotic upbringing of the youth of Szczecin and its province.

When in 1981 the city was internally threatened in such a way that many people were not aware of the need to work, approximately 4000 soldiers gathered the harvest from the fields. It was here that the country-wide initiative of "10 soldier's passes to the socialist motherland" was born, and this resulted in thousands of hours of voluntary work by soldiers for the city. This work was very needed during this period. This is also the case today, and will be the case in the future. These examples probably are sufficient to justify our title to the name of the Szczecin Division.

12495  
CSO: 2600/256



## HISTORY, ACHIEVEMENTS OF GENERAL STAFF ACADEMY REVIEWED

Warsaw PERSPEKTYWY in Polish No 41, 14 Oct 83 pp 16, 17

[Article by Ryszard Swierkowski: "Polish People's Army; Polish School for Commanders"]

[Text] "It took place in Warsaw on 12 December 1947, 3 years after the liberation of Polish territories from the grip of fascist occupation, when Boleslaw Bierut was president of the Republic of Poland..." Such is the noble and now somewhat archaic tenor of the first words recorded at the solemn opening of the General Staff Academy of the Polish Army by Poland's marshal, Michal Rola-Zymierski, in the company of the president of the Republic of Poland and members of the government. It is a special school--and occupies a specific place in the network of academies, but it also plays an exceptional role in the armed forces of the Polish People's Republic. It is the oldest military school in Poland and this fact of itself warrants its selection for public recognition in conjunction with the 40th anniversary of the Polish People's Army. As the only one in the country, it occupies itself generally and comprehensively with military skills, and constitutes the main exponent of war sciences. It not only provides scientific military knowledge but also creates it.

It will suffice to make a list of the most important dates, and the most famous names appearing in the school annals, in order to catch a glimpse of an important and interesting fragment of military history in its own history. On 17 April 1947, a preliminary group was appointed, whose task it was to organize the General Staff Academy of the Polish Army, and already in December the first academic year was inaugurated. Why precisely then? Well, it was as if the existing situation had need of this decision; because it was a period of time when the Polish nation, in view of the international situation and defense needs, undertook efforts to modernize the armed forces, in which the subject of staff and command cadres with adequate knowledge and political posture was advanced to the fore. Conferring upon the school just 4 months later the name of Karol Swierczewski, the heroic general who during the very year of the school's creation perished in a battle with Ukrainian Insurrection Army [UPA] bands of thieves at Baligrod, added important significance for its training activities. In October 1950, the title of

qualified officer was conferred upon 33 graduates, and they were the first officers in the history of the Polish People's Army to complete advanced military studies during normal peacetime conditions. Thus, extensive changes were initiated in training procedures of the Polish People's Army cadres. Since that time the academy annually provides the army with excellently prepared graduate-commanders and staff officers. In 1955 Col Wojciech Jaruzelski, presently first secretary of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers Party and chairman of the Council of Ministers, completed his studies here. In the lobby of the main school building, I also found other names on plaques commemorating distinguished graduates, well known today, namely: Generals Czeslaw Kiszczak and Zygmunt Zielinski; members of the present scientific cadre of the General Staff Academy [ASG], Professors Andrzej Madejski and Jozef Stachowski; and also the names of brother army officers: Igor Blagowieszczenski, Walerij Babkin and Ladislav Soukal. One must seek the roots of didactic and scientific-research successes in the work of its founders and organizers. Included in a total of 10 consecutive commanders are such names as B. Zarakowski, academy director from 1947 to 1948; Z. Berling, 1948-1953; M. Bien, 1957-1964; J. Kuropieska, 1964-1968; and the present commander, Gen of Arms Jozef Kaminski.

The growth of the academy's importance and its introduction into the scientific and political life of the country is a practical confirmation of Wojciech Jaruzelski's words: "Difficult national problems will not come to a halt at the barrack gates." In 1972 the school assumed patronage over higher officer schools in the country; 6 years ago it signed an agreement of cooperation with the A. Mickiewicz University in Poznan; in October 1981 it assigned a group of officers to work in local operational groups. After 20 years of activity, the General Staff Academy received the Order of the Banner of Labor First Class, and almost 1 year ago, during the 35th anniversary celebration, it completed its scheduled balance of accomplishments.

The didactic procedures of the school and also the student body have their own characteristics. The students are graduates of higher officer schools and advanced courses, with several years of commander training on a subdetachment level. Candidates for study first pass tests similar to those in branches of the armed forces and military circles, following which they are subjected to competitive examinations in the academy. They are, therefore, the elite. In view of the lofty degree of organization in military life, every commander is--as is well known--a leader, organizer and educator of subordinates. Obviously, in the complex and dynamic routine of military life, many various factors have an effect on subordinates, sometimes even contrary to an officer's course of action. Still, the burden of training and educating soldiers is his responsibility. Valuable commanders are distinguished by a combination of such qualities as extensive knowledge, sound thinking, blended with a familiarity with battle tactics and the art of leading, a disciplined will, energy and courage, physical stamina. The quality of the commanding cadre, to a large degree, determines the efficiency of soldiers and also the level of national defense preparations. Characteristic of the military community is the social structure incorporating the professional cadre and basic service soldiers. This necessitates combining teenage pedagogics with the pedagogics of adults, with the pedagogics of work, the psychology of unity, of uniting practice with theory.

But the General Staff Academy, as I mentioned, is also a scientific facility, solving research assignments in the sphere of defense. Thoughts on the significance of science in the reconstruction of Poland's defense surfaced in 1947, as a result of theoretical reflections accompanying the formulation of proposals for ideological academies. In his inauguration speech, the first academy marshal, Michal Rola-Zymierski, stated: "The General Staff Academy is to be a scientific facility for the study of problems connected with national defense in a strictly scientific manner." The restrictions of military secrets preclude, which is understandable, the possibility of obtaining full information and a detailed presentation on the subject of the work and research, but we must realize that these problems are numerous and complicated, extending from history to economics and state politics, from the science of defense to the most complex questions of strategy, operational skills and tactics. The matter, from its beginning, could not be regarded as easy or simple. Supporting this are articles analyzing the reasons for delaying the development of science in the army, which appeared in the theoretical monthly MYSL WOJSKOWA [Military Thought] from 1955 to 1957. Critical treatment was especially conspicuous in the following articles: "Scientific-Research Work in Military Academies" (1955 No 9, pp 3-11) by Stanislaw Poplawski; "Some Officer School Assignments" (1957 No 2, pp 10-11) by Wojciech Jaruzelski; "Several Observations on the Status of Research Work in the Field of History and War Theory" (1957 No 3, pp 23-28) by Jozef Czerwinski. Undoubtedly, the important reason also was the unresolved, until 1960, problem of training scientific military cadres, as a consequence of which there was a lack of motivational research endeavors, such as striving for scientific degrees, because during the course of 12 years no one from the officers' cadres achieved a scientific candidate's degree or a doctorate in military science which, it is evident, retarded cadre development. Only in 1960 did the State Council appoint the first independent scientific employees; during the course of 22 years, 21 employees received the title of professor in the General Staff Academy. At the second Congress of Polish Science, Sylvester Kaliski could state that "in the Polish Army, where free research work is subordinate to a series of rigors, the model of a modern scientific workshop was successfully developed in many sectors."

This disclosure also pertains to the General Staff Academy. In its initial phase, work dedicated to the contents and methodology of training dominated. Scientific-didactic personnel compiled and edited a series of textbooks for internal use in the academy, as well as for other military branches and armed forces services. With the passage of time and the growth of knowledge the sphere of research problems expanded, reaching the present state in which the scientific cadre of the General Staff Academy solves research problems, both from the sphere of military didactics, as well as military skill. An anniversary folder published last year depicts some such works as: Jozef Kaminski's "Military Coalitions"; J. Kaczmarek, C. Staciwa and S. Zapolski's "Military Doctrine"; Jerzy Kunikowski's "Attack and Fire"; Andrzej Madejski's "Military Science"; Kazimierz Nozko's "Problems of Modern Military Skill." Also, a document entitled "Fundamentals of the Scientific Policy of the General Staff Academy of the Polish Army" was compiled, describing assumptions and research objectives for the 1980's and anticipated intensification of work on the prognosis of developing the armed forces, as well as the

development of disciplines and specialties authorized in the academy. Many examples from military history demonstrate that a lack of imagination and knowledge, or the conservatism of commanders, sometimes victorious in past battles, suggest that they are preparing for past wars and not for possible future conflict. For that reason, scientific contemplations in the sphere of defense and utilization of the achievements of science play an immense role. Wojciech Jaruzelski stressed this many times. In his speech "Science and Defense," read at a session of the Polish Academy of Sciences [PAN], he said: "Nowadays the struggle for superiority on the field of battle, viewed in perspective, starts in the laboratory and construction office... in this sense scientific work is a form of battle."

For military doctrines also change together with the progress of civilization, and there are no absolute or eternal truths in them. In every period of history, opinions on war simply expressed the actual state of affairs during a given era, and hence are subject to change. But there was never any attempt to minimize the commander's role. Pertinent indeed are the thoughts of Marian Porwit, author of the fundamental work "Commentaries on the History of Polish Defense Operations in 1939," that "military operations of every modern war are a large collective effort, which is why it is not easy to appreciate in a fair manner the role of 10 soldiers on a commander's level, discharging their duties between the commander-in-chief and the private soldier in this effort." But, after all, even this famous military historian does not neglect to criticize commanders, treating those from 1939 with severe impartiality. For also the question of how the commanders performed their duties, and to what extent they failed, is no trifling measure of truth about war, and in peacetime--about the readiness for defense. In the General Staff Academy, the military forge of staff-commander cadres, the role, the responsibility and qualifications of the commander are matters over which one ponders during every hour of daily training. May their accomplishments serve exclusively in peacetime.

9951

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PAST, PRESENT ROLE, QUALIFICATIONS OF ARMY OFFICER ANALYZED

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 8 Nov 83 p 6

[Interview with Colonel Zygmunt Kwiatkowski, chief of the Department of Schools and Military Academies of the Main Political Directorate of the Polish Army, by correspondent Marek Rudnick: "Profession--An Officer of the Polish People's Army"; date and place not specified.]

[Text] We talk with Col Zygmunt Kwiatkowski, chief of the Department of Schools and Military Academies of the Main Political Directorate of the Polish Army, about the role of an officer of the Polish Army, what kind of person he used to be, and who he is today.

[Question] Until recently, the profession of an officer has been associated in the popular consciousness with war or defense training. The well-known events of recent years pushed the internal function of the military to the forefront; in connection with this, thousands of officers received orders to undertake actions outside the compass of military forces, in the national economy, state administration, transportation, education, etc. Let us try to answer the question about the paths that led the cadres of armed forces to be open to all problems, and ready to undertake such complex and diverse activities.

[Answer] Among the main factors determining this posture one ought to mention class spirit, that is, the worker-peasant character of the cadre, for whom--thanks to its origin and identification with the program of the party and the state--the independent existence of the Polish nation, and its socialist road of development, are uppermost in the hierarchy of importance of things. To the military cadre, these two matters have always been guiding rules of action. This was so when the cadre went into the battle near Lenino, and in partisan struggles, when it protected the referendum and the elections to the Constitutional Sejm, when it became necessary to prepare armed forces for the modern atomic battlefield, and also when the threat to the sovereign existence of the nation, posed by an alliance of internal opposition forces and the external enemy, became real.

Each time the degree of complexity of the situation was different, requiring different knowledge and different abilities in action. Above all, the army

potential with regard to personnel was different at each of these four stages. In the 1940's and the first half of the 1950's we did not have too many officers with high school education.

Question This statement reminds one of the memorable slogan: "Not a high school diploma but honest desire will make an officer of you."

Answer Yes--this slogan could be seen on posters in 1944 and 1945. It was coined in a situation where officers trained before the war were none too eager to fight in the ranks of the Polish People's Army, and developmental needs required it to fill command posts as fast as possible. It should be remembered that in those times a struggle about the class form of the state was taking place in Poland, a struggle about the fundamentals of the system. And not everyone, even among people who graduated from underground schools during the occupation, was ready to declare himself on the side of the new, people's state. This is not a reproach but a recollection to help realize the difficulty of forming an officer corps that acquired basic knowledge and command skills, necessary to go to the battlefield, in short course form.

The chance offered by the army consisted in combining service with the possibility of getting a high school education. When this possibility appeared, it was used; and all who undertook professional service completed full high school education. In a word, both a high school diploma and honest desire...

Question And in that very moment that slogan became outdated?

Answer Yes. By the way, when in 1980-81 opposition activists talked with incredible contempt about that slogan, they really didn't want to point out the "developmental shortcomings" of that generation, but to discredit the military, and thus to weaken the state. Nothing new was invented, only not everyone realized it then.

The spreading of high school education was accompanied in the armed forces by developing academic studies for the cadre and candidates for professional soldiers, and also the transformation of officers' schools into academic institutions of first degree. Today, in the military profession, in the officer group, we have about 75% of commanders and specialists with higher education.

Question How does it look in comparison with other armies?

Answer Our army is one of the leading positions, but bragging is not the point here. It is more important that Armed Forces of the Polish People's Republic are capable of meeting the present and future defense needs of the state. At the same time the worker-peasant origins of the officer corps have been preserved, including the inherent ties with the working class and its state.

Meanwhile, new principles for the preparation of the cadre of reserve officers have been worked out, based on the graduates of civilian universities.



Scientific and research activity, developed in the armed forces, also merits attention. It is connected not only with military science, but also supports Polish science in non-military fields. This concerns many technical, medical, social solutions, and so on. Let us take the Military Technical Academy which, for example, supports the coal mining industry with its research and inventions--I am thinking about studies developing the theory of explosions, or the use of safety measures, or medicine, especially concerning laser applications for surgery.

Question In other words, a modern officer of the Polish People's Army has considerable knowledge in various disciplines, and this determines his abilities to prove himself outside the army. Isn't that so?

Answer It's true that in military schooling the development of basic functions of the schools and scientific research institutes caused a continuous process of fast growth of knowledge and skills. Also--and this follows from the nature of our education--of abilities to organize, command and direct, abilities to organize groups of people and direct them in the course of solving various problems. Military schools also develop noticeable competence and initiative, not only in the formal sense but also in the sense of being open to the changeability of the situation. This means a high degree of cadre readiness to recognize the essence of problems quickly, formulate a diagnosis, and, finally, to undertake practical steps in order to develop or eradicate a given phenomenon.

This unceasing examination activity enables the military cadre to prepare forecasts--on a scale adequate to the position of the person. However, scientific knowledge and the attitudes that follow from it have nothing to do with cold calculations. This cadre is ideologically earnest and takes an active position on any phenomenon, looking for position solutions. It rejects negative attitudes. It attempts to gain support to develop similar behavior in milieus in which it acts.

Along with the broadening of professional and general knowledge, the cadre shows interest in culture. It is being expressed, among other ways, in creative literature, art and film, and in general in the growing conscious choice of cultural offerings.

As a result, together with the society's consciousness of the role our army is performing, the cadre was able to undertake the task of salvation and create the conditions for the regeneration of the fundamental values of the system.

Question If the officers are predisposed to execute non-military tasks as well, if they are doing it well, if they aren't bad experts also in civilian professions, if they are good organizers, etc., then, to play the devil's advocate, the return to the barracks of last July meant, among other things, that the enormous potential of knowledge and skills, useful in view of the needs of the country, was going to be unused.



[Answer] First of all, the primary task of the army is to fulfill the military/defense functions, and not to substitute for others. Second, the Polish People's Army does not possess a monopoly on knowledge and skills: it provided a certain pattern which anybody can use. Third, it is true that the military went back to the barracks, but part of the cadre is going to provide support for the party and state institutions for a longer time. The army is ready to serve with aid of this kind anytime, as happened many times in the past. But perhaps it is more important that the trust which the army enjoys in society is being maintained, trust in its objectivity and high efficacy of actions undertaken with the thought of the good of the country.

12503

CSO: 2600/292

DAILY INTERVIEWS UNDERGROUND SOLIDARITY ACTIVIST

Warsaw SZTANDAR MŁODYCH in Polish 24 Oct 83 p 2

[Text] The Ministry of Internal Affairs has asked us whether our daily would be interested in meeting an activist of the opposition from the student community. Why not, that might be interesting. The meeting was held in presence of officers from the ministry in one of the Warsaw coffeehouses. Our interlocutor was a student of Warsaw University, Piotr, who asked not to be identified. Our discussion lasted for a couple of hours. Here is a brief record of his story.

When martial law was proclaimed he was terrified, for before that he was active in the unions. And he said to himself, that is the end of it. They will come right now and lock him up. Various tales were circulated that made one's hair stand on end. People were saying that tens of thousands and maybe several hundred thousand activists were arrested and that death sentences would be imposed. Tanks on the streets. Terrible. In fear of being arrested, he hid himself for several days with his friends. Tension, nerves, horror. When he found, however, that he was not being sought for, he went back home, and since lectures at the university were suspended he had plenty of spare time.

Piotr has rich parents, from diplomatic circles, a nice apartment and a car. And when someone has plenty of time various thoughts enter one's head. He met some fellow students from the university and they talked about the political situation in the country and thought out plans for the future. Here a leaflet was turned out, there some slogan was uttered. That fired the imagination. The more so, since not only students of the same age, but also scientific workers looked favorably on these aspects of illegal activity. From this it was not far to go to become engaged in such activity. The climate in the faculty was highly favorable for that. It was well known that scientific workers have influence among students.

In spring 1982, a fellow student proposed that Piotr work in the underground Solidarity, disseminating leaflets. The pressure of the environment was so powerful that one had the impression that everyone was active somewhere. Moreover, he was not satisfied with the situation prevailing in the country,

and therefore he agreed. The leaflets and the instructions on how to scatter them on the streets he received from a fellow student. But in course of time disagreements arose in the organization. Piotr began to hesitate--should he remain or quit? His doubts were suddenly dispelled by another fellow student, who in autumn 1982 proposed to Piotr that he join another underground organization whose name he did not disclose.

And again Piotr agreed. He was told to organize his own group. But he failed to fulfill this task, and so he was entrusted with various "ad hoc" jobs. He transported in his car the leaflets and the information for other groups. He also watched the apartments in which conspiratorial meetings were held. He came to know in this organization about 15 persons, chiefly students. In September 1983, taking advantage of the amnesty he made his illegal activities known to the prosecution organs.

[Question] Why did you come out into the open?

[Answer] The place was too hot for me, he said smiling.

[Question] Why did you distribute the leaflets?

[Answer] That was a form of propaganda struggle with the martial law legislation. The people wanted to read them.

[Question] If you influence people, you do it for a definite purpose. What was the purpose? Leaflets were the means. What was the aim?

[Answer] Our activities were supposed to create tension in the country, and thus to compel the authorities to change.

[Question] What kind of change? What program did you have?

[Answer] I do not feel able to formulate a program. We have no program. But I was always irritated by ineptitude of the authorities. I carried on a struggle to make these authorities better, so that the proper people would occupy proper offices. I am not satisfied with what is going on in the country. I do not see any prospects for myself, the future looks foggy.

Peter says that he understands the geopolitical conditions of Poland. He accepts the alliances with the neighboring countries. He also considers that the party should exist: "I do not want to overthrow the party, I want it to be better."

[Question] And you did want to achieve this by fanning tension?

[Answer] I am not a formulator of programs. People wanted to read leaflets, so I distributed them. I was the executor.

We discuss the errors of Solidarity and the authorities after August 1980, and the causes that necessitated the imposition of martial law. It is

not well in the country, says Piotr. What is the way out of it? He has no idea of that.

Piotr: "I am a pessimist."

[Question] What are your plans for the future?

[Answer] To attend to my studies. While I was busy with underground work I neglected them.

We said goodbye to Piotr and decided to go to the residence of his parents. They are concerned.

We did not know anything precise about his activities, said his father. We were only guessing. He [Piotr] categorically cut short any attempt to engage him in a discussion on this subject. We were very worried. I was telling him to come out into the open. His family situation has changed and I think that that pressed heavily on his mind. I had the impression that after the conversation with me he felt relief. I imagine he was in contact with his fellow students in this matter. He wanted not to lose face. When he came out into the open it was a great relief for us, too.

Unexpectedly, Piotr came to see his parents to borrow some flour. So we met him once more. He spoke again critically about the authorities.

"There are needed," he explained, "radical, hard solutions to overcome the crisis. Tough solutions!"

That utterance surprised the officers.

"And you think that the authorities could not introduce tough solutions? But then our talk would have been different."

"Yes," said Piotr's father, "all is well that ends well. You could have been arrested."

It was quite a different matter with Piotr's fellow students. They did not give up their participation in underground organizations. It is difficult to judge to what extent they are conspiratorial. From the scanty remarks of the officers it follows that they are well informed about the group to which Piotr had belonged. And not only about this group alone.

"Blameworthy in particular is the fact that the students are being drawn into illegal activities by the scientific workers," says the officer. For example, Waldemar A. was manufacturing pyrotechnics for the group. Another scientific worker, Krzysztof L., is simply a coward who is pushing others to act and then hiding himself behind their backs. Andrzej N. acts as if he were an ideological leader. He has links with Bujak. The first chief of the group was Marek W., and his successor was Jacek T. Members of the group are: Piotr R., Tomasz Dz. (he is highly restless, meditating whether or not to come out into the open), Cezary M., Aleksander R.,

Janusz D., and so on. It is sad to say that the group was taking unfair advantage of other students for its illegal activities and outright deceived them. For example, in the case of Maciej A., Jacek U., Ireneusz B., Piotr R., Dariusz S., Ann and Andrzej M.

[Question] What did that deceit consist of?

[Answer] A student is told to go and see whether in such and such a building, on some floor or other, the casement is open or closed. And that favor is then rewarded by a couple of chocolate bars. Someone goes and checks, not knowing what matters he got himself mixed up in, and those matters might be very troublesome. And other similar affairs.

[Question] Why then, if you know that, do you not talk to those people?

[Answer] We are waiting. In accordance with the amnesty law, one may come out into the open until 31 October. Let those who want it take this into consideration.

1015

CSO: 2600/203

DAILY EXAMINES NEW TERMINOLOGY, LIFESTYLES AMONG YOUTH

Warsaw SZTANDAR MŁODYCH in Polish 26 Oct 83 p 3

[Article by Katarzyna Zachkiewicz: "Who Are the Hippies, the Flannels, the Punks, the Popers?"]

[Text] Pointed at, ridiculed, criticized. Different. They arouse aversion with eccentric hairstyles, second-hand clothes, their way of behaving. They form--to use scholarly language-- a subculture, a fringe, cut off from "normal" people. Why have they chosen otherness, why do they prefer a leather jacket to a school uniform? Who are they, what do they think about themselves and society? Let us give them a chance to express themselves with the intention of learning the truth; perhaps we will undermine the myths or strengthen stereotypical judgments about hippies, punks, popers and other "weird" girls and boys.

The discussion is taking place in the Sigma student club at Warsaw University. As an introduction to our reflections, I will cite the letter of Johnny Rotten, who wrote to the editor:

"Youth is rebelling without truly knowing against what. But society wants to bring these stray sheep back to the flock. You have resorted to expedients, you journalists and the rest of society. You convince people that school, the community, the town, have been and are tolerant. You would like youth to restrict itself to external forms of protest, that is, to appearance. That would be only pretense and death for the movement. One can not wear a safety pin in one's ear and still be a punk. Punk is a life philosophy.

"Lately crowds of pseudo-punks have appeared who do not have the vaguest notion about the movement and whom it is easy to single out for criticism. I am pleased that our society is so hardhearted, for consequently our movement and our rebellion make sense. Punks provoke, irritate, astonish..."

"There is talk about society's lack of tolerance. Agreed! I have been a hippie for 10 months. I normally live with my parents, sometimes I get a moment of peace at home, but when I feel like it, I leave and do not return for several days. I am in the fourth grade at the general high school. My friends are ill-disposed toward me, teachers too. When I walk along dressed this way, with a band in my hair, people whistle after me on the street..."

"I have been in the movement for several years," says YOU (The One-Person Imaginary Organization), a Tyrolean cap on his head. "I spin around, I board trains at unknown stations, I get off, I play and sing and move on again. I am continually in movement," he says with self-irony.

"You are not 'Susel'? [see definition below]

"I no longer know who I am. I have long hair, so some take me for a hippie, others for a queer," YOU announces in the midst of approving laughter from the punks, the popers, and the others.

"Why do you call homosexuals such an ugly name?" asks Hippie 1.

"I do not call them that, I am quoting."

"What is the movement and does it exist in Poland?" asks the Observer.

"It is made up of various people united by similar outlooks. An organization which in the case of hippies, for instance, avows pacifism; and people wear the same badges of identity," says a thin 17-year-old with a headband, Hippie 2.

"And you, Karol, why are you a hippie?"

"I am whatever I am. Definitions are unnecessary."

"He is a hippie because he cannot be anyone else," Karol's friends support him.

"Those kids from before 'Renovation' shown on television lately, arouse only laughter. They pretend. Their voices are on the way out. I know some kids who are barely 14 years old and sport chains, put on black leathers and kilograms of scrap-metal," says a quasi-punk on army leave.

"Does this irritate you?"

"So it would appear from his concern. He would like to help them drag those chains," interrupts YOU.

Every young person is entitled, in certain contexts, to complain that he or she has been forced to live in a world "to which he or she has not contributed." Youth's claims against society can be interpreted as a sort of campaign providing the means for defining the roles which the young people will fill when they assume responsible functions. ("Social Structure and Individuality," Talcott Parsons).

"I have already passed beyond pretext and safety pins. I am searching for philosophy in the songs of groups."

"Most people living in the contemporary world feel the same inclination toward freedom as the punks and hippies. They protect themselves from merging into the mass, they do not want to be average, grey. They put on masks, however,



because they are afraid to defy society's norms. For example, nobody wants war," says Hippie 2.

"But how is one to object to war? Each of us is too insignificant to change anything," says the quasi-punk. "The world is developing in all spheres, why, then, should ways of killing not develop too?"

"It makes no sense for us, the punks and the hippies, to draw up battle lines," Hippie 3 volunteers peaceably.

"But conflicts do exist," says hippie Karol indignantly. "This fellow beside me (here he indicates a boy with a yellow band around his neck) became my enemy a year ago, he beat me up without reason."

"I am a pacifist," the punk justifies himself.

"I see you have changed your views, a year ago you were still a fascist. So, who are you?"

"I am a human being," replies the punk.

"The hippies clearly do not like you, they say you are aggressive," inquires a poper, or perhaps just an ordinary observer.

"Do they have papers, statutes, where they say that? How do they know what is right, what is wrong? Sometimes I am a pacifist, other times I am a vulgar cad. I provoke through my appearance. I want others to feel that here is still a bit of freedom."

"What do you want to say to adults?"

"They want to profit from us, to organize us, and I do not want to be a prisoner. I am going to evade them, to go around in circles, until the fourth grade, even until I am 60. How can I like people when I have been beaten since childhood?" asks the punk.

"Who has harmed you?"

"My father. He wanted me to be submissive, to kiss his feet. I joined the punks to protest against constraint, to represent strength myself."

"What do you think of pacifists?"

"The pacifist is a rabbit, he is afraid. I am predisposed toward being a punk-- I'm over 6 feet tall. People are afraid of me, hippies are afraid of me. I know that absolute freedom does not exist, I will never be wholly free, my body limits me. I have to eat, sleep, drink, live."

"How does a hippie understand his freedom?"

"I do what I like," replies longhaired Gogo, "what I do could be of use to others. I have a secondary school certificate, I repair telephones in a state firm. I became a hippie because I considered their views right."

"And you do not like punks because you are afraid of them," shouts the punk with the yellow band. "I also describe pacifism but at the same time I wear a badge for 'Anarchy.' Each punk is different but each is himself. People pick quarrels with us. Behind me I hear the voice of a joker in a tie: 'Oh, look how screwed up he is. I don't want them to touch me, to interfere with me.'"

"I meet you at least once every 3 months and each time you accost me. You yell 'Death to the hippies.' You act aggressive, then you are surprised that you have made enemies."

"I finished work," a female voice unexpectedly is heard, "the custodian said that we were taking up the hall until 6:00, we had to leave. I dressed my child and now it's getting hot. In the end the lady custodian brings about order."

Beyond the front door of the club the discussion takes on a more private character. There are fewer of us, there is less posing. A 19-year-old punk named Prokop says:

"I was not accepted into SOS, the Center of the Therapy and Development of Individuality in the high school. For the time being I am not going to school. Real punks in the West do not attend school. Once it was a movement for the unemployed. They wanted to be separate from society, to have nothing in common with it. In Poland it is impossible to 'create' such a movement. For instance, the militia says that my pieszczocha [a type of ornament] is a weapon and at any moment I could lose it. They will take it away from me. And yet it is only ornamental. Go ahead and touch it."

Prokop stretches out his hand--completely smooth studs. To his black leather jacket (costing 22 thousand zloty) are attached badges: "Against all laws," "Sex Pistols," "Punks forever"--partly in English. "'I am too young to die, but too old to live' is the slogan of Sid Vicious, the dead guitarist of the Sex Pistols and my slogan too," explains Prokop.

On the one hand, life becomes exceedingly easy, on the other, it consists more and more of essences and influences which tend toward the smothering of the authentic, incomparable tone of individuality. To save one's individuality, nothing remains but to demonstrate the maximum number of distinctive traits, exaggerating them in order to be able to have a sense of oneself in the bustle of a big city.

What inclines people toward deviant behavior (for example, informal groups) is the conflict between culturally accepted values and social difficulties with keeping pace with these norms in practice. The reaction is rebellion. Members of society who have shaken off authority rebel. Their rebellion

creates a potential for the emergence of subgroups alienated from the rest of society but internally close. The youth who enter the movement with their own characteristic culture represent an individual scheme of behavior that reflects the weakening of moral norms within society. ("Sociological Theory and Social Structure," Robert Merton; "Sociology," Georg Simmel)

"One hears of and reads about a shocking history of punk terrorism."

"Here one has to distinguish the punk from a phony or a chameleon who changes clothes for a vacation. Some people start becoming punk at 14 or so. They pin on badges and put on carpet slippers. It is a matter of what people have in their heads, and not of what they flaunt externally. Hoods, people from the criminal world, also pass themselves off as part of our movement. They give us a bad name. For example, I disagree with the boy with the yellow bandanna. He fried his brains with drugs and was intolerable. Many hippies live near me on Mokotowa street and they batter me with the same lyrics as this punk, because they too do drugs."

"Who are these people, the druggies?"

"They were once hippies, they wanted to escape from reality, and now they only see either grass or horse. There are no identical people among us. There are at least seven types of punks: Punk & Skins, Skanks, Krasowcy, Skinheads, and others. They differ amongst themselves in dress, hairstyles, the lyrics they sing. Precisely the lyrics of songs and identity with a musical group are their ideology."

"What does being aggressive accomplish?"

"We are forcing the world to change, even if only in ways of thinking. But people do not understand us."

"What are punks like in contacts with girls?"

"Sharp," lovely 16-year-old Joanna acknowledges in a word.

"What does that mean?"

"Punks do not play games--cafes, walks," a friend of Prokop's answers for the girl. "We say, 'Come with us,' and if they do not want to, well, they don't."

After the meeting in Sigma, Christian Velvit, or YOU, noted in his journal, "Questions, questions. They think that by saying about somebody that he is negatively disposed toward people, they predispose him positively toward themselves. It is easiest to attack. Then one can act out one's own stresses, and beyond that one can project one's own problems on a given person. This need not be the rule but often it happens so."

Missing from the meeting were the old hippies, those who used to wander around Poland more than 10 years ago, who felt free and emancipated. They played instruments, and sang about peace, love, friendship, injustice. Today they have little choice; either they become vagabonds who are not included in legal framework or they create families, leave the commune, get jobs. They gather sometimes in Bieszczady or Czestochowa for meetings.

[Definitions] Hej, hip--hippie

Susel--the oldest hippie, who separates himself from the commune and lives in solitude or in a smaller circle of friends.

Flanelowiec--an upright person who does not care about the hippie movement; softhearted in his dealings with others, wishes to enter into connection with people but does not live with them in a commune. He manifests his otherness in his clothing, although in everyday life he submits to the system at school and at work. Often he participates in gatherings. There are no drug addicts among them as there are among most hippies.

Cpun--an inveterate drug addict, dresses as a hippie.

Punk--manifests his otherness through a characteristic dress; a precise definition is difficult, since several types of punk groups exist: Skinheads, Punk and Skins, Skanks, Punk, Anti-War, Krascowcy, Rastaman, Teddy Boys and others identifying with various punk music groups.

I hear from the hippies themselves that there are no longer any true hippies, there are no longer any authentic punks, nor will there be. What is left is the phoneys, who are increasing in number and power.

12460

CSO: 2600/182

## CEAUSESCU FOREIGN POLICY DISCUSSED AT MARYLAND SYMPOSIUM

AU092128 Bucharest AGERPRESS in English 1955 GMT 9 Dec 83

[Excerpts] Washington AGERPRES 9 December 1983--The Maryland University played host to the symposium "The Contribution Made by Small and Medium-Sized Countries to Promotion of Peace: The Role of President Nicolae Ceausescu," held under the aegis of the Maryland University's Centre for International Studies of the Johns Hopkins University. Personalities of the U.S. political and scientific quarters, leading cadres of main governmental departments, among them the State Department and the Commerce Department, representatives of the National Security Council, outstanding scientists and researchers of 15 institutes and research centres dealing with international studies from all over the United States, university staff and researchers representing 11 American universities, among them the Maryland, Boston, Washington, Baltimore, Columbus and New York ones, advisers and other senior officials of the White House and other institutions of the American administration, as well as scientists and researchers into international issues coming from Great Britain, Japan and other countries, the president of the World Prospecting Society [as received] participated.

Opening the symposium, Professor Edward Azar, director of the Maryland University Centre for International Development, mentioned the reunion to have been organized to debate an issue of greatest theoretical and practical importance for the international life--namely the role played by Romania, by the small and medium-sized countries in the contemporary world, stressing this role to be illustrated in a telling and representative way by the foreign-policy conception of, and sustained activity carried out in, the world life by Romania and by her leader, President Nicolae Ceausescu.

In an address at the Symposium, Helmut Sonnenfeldt, former assistant secretary of state of the United States, showed that when he had worked with the American government, he had gotten convinced directly that all international actions of Romania and her president proved lofty political standing and high competence in international matters, faultless activity that only few countries and politicians in the world could attain. He said he was able to see for himself the permanent preoccupation of Romania's leadership, of the Romanian diplomacy for the maintenance and promotion of communication and dialogue.

Dan Pattir, a visiting professor of the Georgetown University's Centre of Strategic and International Studies, extensively presented Romania's highly principled and constructive position on the promotion of a just and durable peace in the Middle East, highlighting that it enjoyed unanimous appreciation with the countries in the region and the world over.

A salient feature and a guarantee of success of the position promoted by Romania vis-a-vis the Middle East issues was President Nicolae Ceausescu's direct participation in the efforts for peace, stressed the speaker considering that those efforts were greatly valuable. He showed that Romania employed the diplomatic methods which President Nicolae Ceausescu perseveringly promoted, by repeatedly sending to countries in the region special representatives of the Romanian head of state, as well as other ways that contributed greatly to the stability in the region and the progress of the efforts for peace.

In his paper, Professor Mircea Malita, Romania's ambassador to the United States enlarged upon President Nicolae Ceausescu's role in preventing, appeasing and solving the international disputes, by contacts with heads of state and other politicians in the countries concerned and the world over. The speaker highlighted that the basic method upheld by the Romanian head of state was the method of dialogue and direct negotiations between parties and emphasized Romania's and her president's preoccupation to create permanent and viable international instruments for the settlement of the crises and disputed issues.

Emphasis was placed during the debates on the good and constructive relations between Romania and the United States, mirrored by President Nicolae Ceausescu's recent meetings with Vice-President George Bush and Secretary of Commerce Malcolm Baldrige.

CSO: 2020/54

MILITARY OFFICIALS' PAPER ON ANNIVERSARY

AU212212 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1845 GMT 21 Dec 83

[Article in the Press: "The Struggle for Setting Up the Unitary Romanian National State Under the Home and Foreign Circumstances of 1916-1918"--Paper by Colonel General Constantin Olteanu, member of the Executive Political Committee of the CC of the RCP, minister of National Defense, and by Lieutenant General Ilie Ceausescu, deputy minister of National Defense, secretary of the Higher Political Council of the army, read at the Scientific Session of 26 November marking the anniversary of the union of Transylvania with Romania]

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES 21 December 1983--The idea of the union of the Romanians on both sides of the Carpathians in one independent political body asserted itself with unprecedented vigour across the nation, the numerous and various actions taken to attain this goal gaining an impressive scope.

The assertion of the Romanians' determination to achieve national unity was part of the people's general struggle for freeing themselves from foreign domination, for setting up their own national states independent and sovereign.

The national struggle of the Romanians and of the other peoples took place under foreign circumstances determined by the outbreak of the First World War. It is well known that the First World War was generated by the imperialist policy of the then great powers of redividing the world, monopolizing new outlets and raw materials sources, of subjugating other nations. We can distinguish between the imperialist character of the armed confrontation between the central powers and the entente and the military effort to attain legitimate goals such as liberation from foreign domination and the setting up of the unitary national state--and this was the case of Romania--ideals that made her enter the war.

It is the merit of RCP General Secretary Nicolae Ceausescu to have proved the falseness, groundlessness and slandering essence of the assessments that gained grounds in some historical and socio-political papers and to have reinstated the truth that although "...the First World War had an imperialist character, the Romanian people did not take part in that war inspired by the wish to conquer or annex other territories; giving way to the pressure made by the entente powers, the ruling circles of the country decided that Romania should enter the war by the side of England, France and Russia that promised us the attainment of the desideratum of our national unity."



The moment of Romania's entering the war was decided on the basis of national option and the intensified political-diplomatic actions of the entente powers, concerned to an ever greater extent to make this decision as fast as possible. In the summer of 1916 the offensive taken by the Germans on the west front at Verdun had failed while on the east front the advance of the Russian armies in Galicia rendered the military situation of the central powers more difficult. The allied command counted on the fact that Romania's military intervention would decide the fate of Austria-Hungary and of the opposed military bloc as a whole. Under those circumstances, under the treaty of alliance and military convention signed on 4/16 August 1916 Romania obliged herself to liberate the Romanian Territories under the domination of the Austrian-Hungarian empire and the partners in the entente pledged to acknowledge the right to self-determination of the Romanians in that empire and the union of the territories they inhabited with Romania.

Romania's military activity in 1916-1918 was the expression of the will of the working class, peasantry, intelligentsia, the advanced circles of the bourgeoisie, of the entire Romanian people that mobilized all its economic, demographic, political and military resources to achieve the full unity they had aspired to for centuries. The soldiers that crossed the Carpathians on 15 August 1916 did not step on foreign land; they met their brothers, as they belonged to one and the same nation, from whom they had been separated through artificial divisions and who, --as GAZETA TRANSILVANIEI wrote--welcomed "the liberating army, that made their great ideal come true with fraternal love."

Representatives of towns and villages welcomed the liberating soldiers with bread and salt according to a century-old custom, since "the Romanian Army," as the aforementioned publication wrote, "stepping on the sacred land on which the language of our nation has been spoken for centuries did not come inspired by hostile feelings, but by the most fraternal feelings for all the peaceful people."

Even in the difficult conditions of foreign domination, that worsened during the war, the Transylvania population did its utmost in most diverse forms to speed up its liberation from foreign domination, 30,000 Romanians or so welcomed the Romanian units, requesting to be immediately enlisted in the liberating army.

An analysis of the military effort made by the Romanian people starting August 1916 casts light on the great enthusiasm, the sense of sacrifice and the confidence of Romanians everywhere in the correctness of the fight they were waging and in victory. The army's participation in the epopee of the union was completed by the armed actions of the fighters without uniform who paid a high tribute of blood. The efforts made over those years to support the liberating national war evince the sense of self-denial of the Romanian workers who supplied the army with ammunition and fuel under most difficult circumstances, of the peasants who supplied them the necessary farm-food produce and of the men of letters who heightened their spirits.

The prospect of accomplishing the unitary national state following Romania's participation in the First World War also conferred on the Romanian society a moral unity and force which were among the decisive factors of the act in

Alba Iulia on 1 December 1918. Despite the heavy trials Romania had to get through over those years--the invasion of the national territory in the autumn of 1916, the severe winter of 1916-1917, the extraordinary pressure over the Romanian front in the summer of 1917--the belief in the target set strengthened the Romanian people's will to accomplish its national unity. A vigorous expression of this will was the victory of the Romanian Army at Marasesti in the summer of 1918, which was not only a widely recognized contribution to defeating the German militarism but also--as President Nicolae Ceausescu shows-- "...a decisive moment in the fight for the liberation of our homeland, for the attainment of the ideal of national unity."

Beside the actions taken on a political, social and military plane in free Romania and in Transylvania which was under foreign domination, worth mentioning are the community of thought of the Romanians everywhere, their will to fight for the victory in which they believed, the conscious acceptance of their duty as fighters, irrespective of the territory in which they were in those difficult moments for the fate of the Romanian nation, the wide-scope actions to back the Romanian cause abroad. In that framework, the formation of Romanian units was in the forefront, units made up of former military of the Austro-Hungarian army taken prisoners by entente armies--the volunteers' corps in Russia and the legions in Italy and France.

The setting up of various committees and councils in France and Italy, and their actions, the newspapers and magazines edited by them, by the Romanian press and propaganda offices in Paris, London, Stockholm and in other localities are proofs of the wide range of means employed at the time by the sons of this nation, wherever they were, in the service of the homeland's interests, for the triumph of the cause of national unity.

The actions taken by Romanian militants in America--meetings, conferences, publications and others--contributed to the creation of a powerful trend in favour of Transylvania's liberation and union with the homeland and played an important role in making the U.S. Government take a stand on that matter, and announce in November 1918 that it would grant Romania--which had always aspired to union with its brothers from Transylvania that were kept in between the borders of the Austria-Hungary empire,--its full support so as to regain, at the general peace conference, its vested political and territorial rights.

The unifying effort of the Romanian people, the political finality of which materialized in the historic resolutions of the great 1 December 1918 National Assembly in Alba Iulia, yielded fruits during the collapse of tsarism and of the revolution in Russia which had proclaimed the lofty ideas of social liberation, of peace and the peoples' right to self-determination, kindled new hopes and stimulated the fight for state unity and independence.

Under those internal and international circumstances, through fight and sacrifice, the Romanian people saw its century-old dream come true and built a united homeland in the territories which have always belonged to it.

## ROMANIA

### BRIEFS

DPRK NODONG SINMUM DELEGATION--Pyongyang 13 December (KCNA)--Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, general secretary of the Romanian Communist Party and president of the Romanian Socialist Republic, on 10 December met a delegation of NODONG SINMUM, headed by its Deputy Editor-in-Chief Kim Sok-Nae, on a visit to his country. The head of the delegation conveyed cordial regards of the great leader, Comrade Kim Il-Song, to President Nicolae Ceausescu. The president expressed deep thanks for this and sincerely wished the great leader, Comrade Kim Il-Song, good health and a long life and happiness. He asked the head of the delegation to convey his friendly greetings to the great leader. The talk proceeded in a friendly atmosphere. [Text] [SK130517 Pyongyang KCNA in English 2203 GMT 12 Dec 83]

OUTGOING AMBASSADOR TO INDONESIA--Jakarta AGERPRES 20 December--An exchange of messages of friendship between President Nicolae Ceausescu of Romania and President Suharto of Indonesia was occasioned by the called paid on the Indonesian head of state by Romania's ambassador in Jakarta, Ion Cotot, at the conclusion of his mission to that country. During the interview the sides pointed out with satisfaction the ascending course of the Romanian-Indonesian relations, to whose development a decisive part was played by the summit interviews and talks, by the understandings reached during the official visit of friendship President Nicolae Ceausescu and Elena Ceausescu paid to Indonesia. [Text] [AU231845 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1838 GMT 20 Dec 83]

U.S. COOPERATION PROGRAM--Bucharest AGERPRES 25 December--A programme of cooperation and exchanges in education, culture, science, technology and other fields for 1984 and 1985 was signed in Washington between the Government of the Socialist Republic of Romania and the Government of the United States of America. The programme stipulates exchanges of lectures, experts, researchers, artistic ensembles, mutual fact-finding visits and other actions which offer possibilities of getting acquainted with the cultural and scientific achievements of the two countries. [Text] [AU261913 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1554 GMT 25 Dec 83]

COURSES FOR DEVELOPING COUNTRIES--Bucharest AGERPRES 26 December--A festivity was arranged at the "Stefan Gherghiu" Academy to mark the conclusion of courses for cadres from Lebanon, Mali, Nambia, the PLO, Tanzania, Somalia. The participants assessed that the courses for various staff from developing countries at the "Stefan Gheorghiu" Academy were an expression of the policy of the RCP and

the Romanian State of active solidarity, collaboration and friendship with the peoples of those countries, with progressive, democratic and anti-imperialist forces everywhere. [Text] [AU261913 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1829 GMT 26 Dec 83]

IRAQI YOUTH MINISTER VISITS--Bucharest AGERPRES 26 December--Romanian Prime Minister Constantin Dascalescu received on Monday, 26 December, Ahmad Husayn as-Samarra'i, minister of Youth of Iraq. During the interview, which proceeded in a cordial, friendly atmosphere, satisfaction was expressed at the ascending course of the Romanian-Iraqi relations in various fields, in the spirit of the understandings convened during top level meetings and talks. The joint wish was expressed to further develop the cooperation between Romania and Iraq, for the mutual benefit of the two peoples, of the cause of international peace, security and collaboration. [Text] [AU261909 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1827 GMT 26 Dec 83]

EUROMISSILES STANCE--Bon 27 December (DPA)--Romania does not intend to allow its Western and detente policy to be harmed by the NATO arms modernization decision, which is strongly attacked by Moscow. FDP disarmament expert Olaf Feldmann gained this impression in talks with the Romanian Head of State Nicolae Ceausescu and Foreign Minister Stefan Andrei. Andrei had emphatically excluded the possibility of Soviet missiles being deployed on Romanian territory as a reaction to Western arms modernization, Feldmann told journalists in Bonn on Tuesday. According to the Bundestag deputy, who was in Romania for a 1-week visit at the head of a Bundestag delegation, Ceausescu understands the Soviets' leaving the negotiating table in Geneva following the Western arms modernization decision. However, the Romanians, who have no Soviet troops in their country, fear the deployment of new Soviet missiles in neighboring Bulgaria. For this reason Ceausescu strongly advocates a nuclear-free zone in the Balkans. [Text] [LD271424 Hamburg DPA in German 1316 GMT 27 Dec 83]

GREEK CP OFFICIALS CONCLUDE VISIT--Bucharest AGERPRES 28 December--Evangelos Diamantopoulos, member of the Executive Bureau of the CC of the Greek Communist Party ("of the Interior"), and Grigoris Aros, member of the Executive Bureau of the CC of the Greek Communist Party ("of the Interior"), editor of newspaper AVGI, mouthpiece of the party, paid a visit to Romania over 20-23 December 1983. The Greek guests had talks with Miu Dobrescu, alternate member of the Executive Political Committee, secretary of the CC of the RCP. Information was exchanged on the current activity and concerns of the Romanian Communist Party and the Greek Communist Party ("of the Interior"), and the joint wish was expressed to expand the relations between them. Opinions were also exchanged on current international questions. [Text] [AU281909 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1807 GMT 28 Dec 83]

DASCALESCU LUNCH FOR PAPANDREOU--Constantin Dascalescu, prime minister of the Government of the Socialist Republic of Romania on 18 December gave a business luncheon for Andreas Papandreou, prime minister of the Hellenic Republic. The luncheon was attended by Gheorghe Petrescu, deputy prime minister of the government, Foreign Minister Stefan Andrei, and other officials. Also present were Dhimitrios Maroudhas, deputy minister of the government presidency, Andonios Yeoryiadhis, deputy minister of national economy, and other officials. During the luncheon, the two prime ministers toasted the health of President Nicolae Ceausescu and Konstandhinos Karamanlis, and expressed the desire to implement the agreements convened upon at the talks between the Greek prime minister and the Romanian president and to promote the friendship between our countries and peoples. [Text] [AU211001 Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 19 Dec 83 p 3]

CPSU CC PLENUM, ANDROPOV ABSENCE--The proceedings of the CPSU Central Committee plenum took place in Moscow within the framework of which the participants discussed and endorsed the draft plan of the Soviet Union's socioeconomic development and the draft state budget for 1984, it is reported by TASS. On the basis of the subjects discussed, the plenum adopted a resolution. The participants took note of the text of the speech by Yuriy Andropov, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, who expressed regret for not being able to attend the plenum for temporary causes. [Text] [AU272043 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 2000 GMT 27 Dec 83]

VIETNAMESE ARMY DAY MARKED--On the 39th Anniversary of the Vietnamese Army Day, the ambassador of the SRV in Bucharest, Tan Phong, on 22 December organized a friendly meeting at the embassy. The meeting was attended by Maria Groza, deputy minister of foreign affairs, Lieutenant General Gheorghe Gomoiu, deputy minister of national defense, generals and officers, and journalists. Chiefs of diplomatic missions accredited to Bucharest, military attaches, and other members of the diplomatic corps were also present. [Text] [AU271932 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 23 Dec 83 p 5]

CSO: 2700/86

## SFRY ASSEMBLY REVIEWS DRAFT BUDGET, LAWS

LD262126 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1223 GMT 26 Dec 83

[Text] Belgrade 26 December (TANJUG)--The Federal Chamber assembled in the Yugoslav assembly today to review the draft federal budget and the accompanying documents as well as several bills. These include the draft laws on the Social Accountancy Service, the execution of the 1984 federal budget amendments and addenda to the law on military service, and the temporary ban on disposing part of the social funds of sociopolitical and self-interest communities involved in social activities in 1984. Several current issues are on the agenda. The session is chaired by Aslan Fazlija.

Since the stances on joint and general consumption were not coordinated during the morning in the Committee for Finance of the Chamber of the Republics and Provinces, the debate on the proposed federal budget was postponed until later, and so the Federal Chamber first of all adopted the bill on the Social Accountancy Service which was drawn up in the SFRY assembly. This law regulates the position of and the bases upon which the Social Accountancy Service operates. It also regulates financial transactions in the country. The Social Accountancy Service is an autonomous and independent organization made up of the Yugoslav Social Accountancy Service and the Social Accountancy Services in the republics and provinces. The law emphasizes the functional unity of the service, gives fuller expression to its self-managing nature, secures greater social influence over its work, and steps up the service's responsibility and so forth. The law replaces the law on the Social Accountancy Service formerly in force.

Continuing the session, the federal chamber adopted the draft law protecting the name and image of Josip Broz Tito, which has been in preparation for the last 2 years. This regulation ensures that Tito's name and image is used in accordance with his historic role and the moral principles of our society. The law prescribes the conditions under which the name of image or Comrade Tito may be used and specifies sanctions to be taken against all those who may violate these regulations.

The chamber also adopted by emergency procedure the changes and addenda to the law on military service. They envisage that military service will be taken from August of one year to October of the following year, and not as before in two parts. The duration of the service will not change. The law will be applied starting in August 1984, which means that faculties and final classes of secondary specialized education will have to change their deadlines.



The chamber also adopted the decision concerning the determination of programs of statistical research which are of interest to the whole country in 1984, as well as the draft program of work of this assembly house during the forthcoming year. The proposal by Milka Planinc, president of the Federal Executive Council, to relieve Joze Florjancic, federal secretary of finance, of his duties and to appoint Vladimir Klemencic, formerly vice-president of the Slovene Executive Council, in his place was also adopted. Klemencic was sworn in immediately afterward.

The chamber also adopted the proposed decision on the rates of contributions for pension and disability insurance of the military personnel, and then considered topical questions and problems of financing the basic social protection of the disabled veterans. It adopted conclusions which emphasize that for the time being it is not necessary to change the manner and method of this financing, but that the role of supervisory inspection services in the federation, as well as in the republics and provinces, should be strengthened. In addition to this, this expenditure, too, should continue to be watched in order to see that it contributes to the overall efforts of society to achieve stabilization.

The delegates then listened to the reports on the implementation of the law on the protection of plants from diseases and pests which threaten the whole country, as well as on the implementation of the law on the protection of animals from infectious diseases. They also adopted the proposal by the Commission of the SFRY Assembly for Elections and Appointments to appoint Dusan Pekic, delegate of the Federal Chamber, as chairman of the Commission for the Supervision of the State Security Service.

A proposal on the changes and addenda to the law ensuring settlement of accounts between the users of social resources was then put on the agenda. The reason for these changes and addenda lies in the fact that in the first 9 months of this year, the unsettled claims amounted to 281 billion dinars, which is 66 percent more than in the same period last year. The measures determined by this law should help to overcome this situation. The proposal was adopted together with the amendment put forward by the Committee for Socioeconomic relations giving the organizations of associated labor a deadline for preparations to apply this law.

The chamber then adjourned the session until the committees of the Chamber of the Republics and Provinces complete the coordination procedure.

After several hours of waiting, the Federal Chamber session has been postponed until tomorrow. What is awaited is agreement in the Committee for Economic Relations with Foreign Countries of the Chamber of the Republics and Provinces on a few remaining questions of the Resolution; the Federal Chamber requires the agreement of the Chamber of the Republics and Provinces on the volume of the federal budget and of general and joint expenditure. Therefore, the agenda for the continuation tomorrow of the Federal Chamber session includes the draft of the federal budget for next year, draft law on the implementation of the federal budget and the law on restricting expenditure.



DRAGOSAVAC CHAIRS LCY FOREIGN COOPERATION COMMITTEE SESSION

LD151013 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1444 GMT 14 Dec 83

[Text] Belgrade 14 December (TANJUG)--The 13th session of the LCY Central Committee Commission for LCY International Cooperation was held in Belgrade today with Dr Dusan Dragosavac, member of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, in the chair.

The session examined a report on the work of the commission during the period from October last year to December this year and a draft plan for the commission's work in 1984.

Having carried out a detailed recapitulation of their activity in the past period, the commission members confirmed the commission's tasks in the coming year, proceeding from the experience gained and results achieved and being guided by the current international situation, ideopolitical trends in workers and other progressive parties and movements, and the tasks facing the LCY in this connection. In doing this they took account of the numerous proposals and suggestions from the commissions for international cooperation of the central and provincial committees of the Leagues of Communists, as well as from the members of the LCY organs and the institutions concerned with international politics and with whom the commission has cooperated closely to date.

Later in the session Stanko Tomic, member of the Bosnia and Hercegovina LC Central Committee Presidium, briefed the commission on a study visit by an LCY delegation to the Socialist Republic of Romania, and Nina Dobrkovic, scientific collaborator in the Institute for International Politics and Economics, informed the commission about the extraordinary congress of the German SPD party.

The commission appraised these contacts as a contribution to the further development of cooperation between the LCY and the parties concerned and approved the information presented to it.

CSO: 2800/124

YUGOSLAVIA

SUNDIC COMMENTS ON POSSIBLE REAGAN-ANDROPOV MEETING

LD241727 Zagreb Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 24 Dec 83

[Text] We heard last night that Chancellor Kohl declared he received a letter from the president of the United States, Ronald Reagan, in which he expressed his willingness to meet the head of the Soviet party and state, Yuriy Andropov, as soon as possible. In his interview to West German television, Kohl confirmed that he received Reagan's message in which the American president indicated that he was personally interested in a meeting with Andropov. Judging by the way Moscow views Reagan's policy, hardly anyone believes in such a meeting between the heads of the two superpowers--Milika Sundic says in his commentary

In his interview to West German television, Chancellor Kohl declared that he had recently received a letter from the American president in which he indicated his willingness to meet Yuriy Andropov, head of the Soviet state and party, as soon as possible. As Kohl said, Reagan is apparently very interested in a meeting with the Soviet leader. It is unclear though why the American president did not personally convey this wish, or why at least he has not explained the purpose of such a meeting with Yuriy Andropov. Judging by everything, the United States--now that the installation of Pershings and cruise missiles has already started in West Europe--is trying to pacify its anxious allies and in some way show its interest in a dialogue with Moscow. If this were not so, Reagan would personally turn to Yuriy Andropov and not to Helmut Kohl, who has been sharply reproached by the Soviet Union for speeding up the beginning of the installation of Pershing missiles in the FRG. Moscow is not obliged to answer either Reagan or Kohl, but it is possible that it will do so on some occasion. Moscow a long time ago wrote off Reagan as a partner in a great dialogue because it considers that the American president is not ready for such talks. The present situation in Europe which was brought about by the start of deployment of Pershing and cruise missiles and the Soviet reply [break in transmission].

According to some reports from Moscow, Gromyko may not even go to Stockholm. There is yet another big reason why Moscow is not thinking about a meeting between Reagan and Andropov--the Soviet Union will do nothing to contribute to Reagan's reelection as president of the United States. Moscow considers Reagan as the one who is primarily responsible for the deterioration in the Soviet-American relations and that world peace is in the present dangerous situation. Let us recall that the Soviet Union accuses Reagan of withdrawing

from the earlier agreements signed between the two superpowers, such as SALT-II and others. These assessments of the American policy will not be abandoned even if Reagan personally turns to Andropov with the proposal to meet next year. The mistrust between Moscow and Washington has become so deep that at least for the time being we cannot expect any progress in the relations between the two countries.

Contrary to this, the international community has a different opinion about the behavior of the superpowers and the military blocs. A large number of countries--not only the nonaligned and neutral--justly assess that any dialogue is better than the continuation of the arms race. The neutral and nonaligned countries in Europe--and not they alone--strive for a successful conference on disarmament and measures of confidence because they proceed from the assessment that the present unfavorable situation in Europe and the world could be improved to some extent by the goodwill of all interested sides and especially the great powers. For this very reason, regardless of the uncertainty about the possibility of a meeting between the leaders of the two superpowers, one should not be too hasty in adopting a stance on Reagan's interest in a meeting with Andropov, especially if Reagan himself explains a bit more--and not through mediators--what could be discussed at such a meeting and what are his proposals to end the present unchecked arms race. Finally, one should not ignore the fact that the president of the UN General Assembly, recently advocated a meeting between Reagan and Andropov.

CSO: 2800/124

## LJUBICIC VISITS BELGRADE ARMY DISTRICT COMMAND

LD191338 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0902 GMT 19 Dec 83

[Text] Belgrade 19 December (TANJUG)--In connection with 22 December, Yugoslav People's Army [YPA] Day, a delegation of the political leadership of the Socialist Republic of Serbia, led by Nikola Ljubicic, president of the Presidency, paid a visit today to the Belgrade Army District Command and the Headquarters of the Territorial Defense of the Socialist Republic of Serbia at the Topcider YPA Club in Belgrade, and greeted them on the holiday. The guests were welcomed by Col Gen Milan Bjelogrljic, commander of the Belgrade Army District; and Col Gen Rajko Tanaskovic, commander of Territorial Defense of the Socialist Republic of Serbia; and their aides.

In a welcoming speech, Col Gen Bjelogrljic stated that the members of the Belgrade Army District and the Serbian Territorial Defense were greeting this year's YPA Day holiday--which is more and more being celebrated now as an all-Yugoslav holiday--with exceptionally high achievements in preparing the population for all-people's defense and social self-protection. He also stated that the combat readiness of all these components is today higher than ever before for defense of the freedom, independence, and territorial integrity of our socialist, self-managing, and nonaligned community.

Bjelogrljic said that the army (?component) and members of the Territorial Defense of the Socialist Republic of Serbia are fully aware of the present economic difficulties of our economy, and that they, through their attitude, conduct, and above especially their work and rational expenditure of means, are making an important contribution to society's overall efforts to overcome these difficulties. This is being accomplished without negative consequences for the combat readiness of commands, headquarters, units, and institutions.

Expressing greetings on the holiday of YPA Day, army Gen Nikola Ljubicic, president of the Presidency of the Socialist Republic of Serbia, underlined that we have achieved a great deal in developing the country and the armed forces, but that this has nevertheless demanded a lot of effort and self-denial. In addition, Ljubicic spoke in particular about the great contribution made by members of the Belgrade Army District toward building up the country, and especially in offering assistance to the population stricken by the Kopaonik earthquake.

It was jointly concluded that a high degree of cooperation between all three structures of the armed struggle and resistance had been achieved in all tasks, particularly in exercises. The strength and vitality of our conception of all-people's defense and social self-protection is thereby affirmed.

CSO: 2800/124

YUGOSLAVIA

SPILJAK SENDS GREETINGS ON PEOPLE'S ARMY DAY

LD210734 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1442 GMT 20 Dec 83

[Text] Belgrade 20 December (TANJUG)--Comrade soldiers, cadets, officers and civilians working in the Armed Forces of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, on behalf of the Presidency of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and on my own behalf, I congratulate you on the day of the Yugoslav People's Army. We are also celebrating this holiday (?of ours) in a free Yugoslavia, having achieved great successes in the construction of the Yugoslav People's Army, in territorial defense and in other parts of our unified system of national defense and social self-protection.

In 1983, a year of exceptional effort and exertion by the working class, the working people and the citizens of Yugoslavia in overcoming existing economic difficulties, you have made a full contribution to strengthening the defensive might of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

As part of the unified front for socialist construction and the defense of the revolution's gains, together with the workers, youth, pioneers and fighters of the national liberation war, you have confirmed in practice the essential feature of our armed forces: their popular and revolutionary character. Devoted to your homeland, the League of Communists of Yugoslavia and the work of its first supreme command, Comrade Tito, and ready to carry out all tasks for defense, you are proving that the working class and our nations and nationalities have in you trustworthy defenders of their freedom and independence.  
[Passage indistinct]

President of the Presidency of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia,  
Mika Spiljak.

CSO: 2800/124

PLANINC VISITS BELGRADE ARMY UNIT

AU171737 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 16 Dec 83

[Excerpts] On the occasion of 22 December, Army Day, the unit which cultivates the traditions of the First Proletarian National-Liberation Shock Brigade, at the 4 July Barracks in Belgrade, was host today to Milka Planinc, president of the Federal Executive Council; members of the government; and a delegation of the veterans of the First Proletarian Brigade. The guests were welcomed by Admiral Branko Mamula, federal secretary for national defense, with his associates.

At the conclusion of her visit, Milka Planinc, president of the Federal Executive Council, congratulated the Yugoslav People's Army on their day, and said among other things:

"Inspecting this unit today, we could see once again that very significant results are being achieved in the building of our army. All its collectives are imbued with a firm ideopolitical unity, readiness, and determination of men and officers to further follow Tito's course and the program and policy of the LCY, and with peak training and capability to operate under the most difficult conditions of the all-people's defense war.

"The Yugoslav People's Army has been and remains a strong guarantee of the defense of the independence of our country and the achievements of our socialist revolution, a trusted support of the peoples and nationalities of Yugoslavia, a significant element of internal stability, firmness, and cohesion of our society.

"The units of the Yugoslav People's Army, as we could see today, possess very modern combat equipment and armaments. The fact that this equipment is chiefly a product of domestic industry, the work of our working people, shows best how great possibilities and opportunities are opened by a consistent realization of the strategy of relying on one's own forces, a strategy on which we also essentially based our long-term program of economic stabilization.

"At the recent Unity-83 exercises, we saw that the modern equipment we possess is in reliable and skilled hands. Our military schools and academies yield cadres of high professional, moral-political, and working qualities. Brought up on the traditions of the national liberation war and revolution and trained



on the achievements of modern military thought and science, these cadres--as is shown by the example of this Guards unit--are successfully taking over the duties from the war generations of officers and are making sure that combat training and other activities in the Yugoslav People's Army are up to the level of demands imposed by modern warfare and the concept and doctrine of all-people's defense.

"We are talking about such and other results rightly and with good reasons on such occasion, too. These results serve as an encouragement and stimulus to further action. The time in which we live, and, above all, the very complicated military-political situation in the world, demand precisely this: They demand that we do not remain content with what we have achieved and that we invest further increased efforts in the further building and strengthening of the defense and self-protection ability of our society.

"There is full unity in the Federal Executive Council as regards the need that the necessary material and other prerequisites for a further technical modernization and overall strengthening of the Yugoslav People's Army as the striking part of our system of all-people's defense be ensured even under the conditions of the present very aggravated economic difficulties. At the same time we shall strive in society in general for a further development of the territorial defense which even now, as a peculiar form of organization of the working people and citizens for defense and social self-protection tasks, has grown into a million-strong armed force.

"In keeping with our concepts we must insist on the further deepening of the process of socialization, on an even more regular and comprehensive involvement of all subjects of society in defense and self-protection tasks, on an even better preparation of all cells of the political and the socioeconomic systems for operations even under possible extraordinary conditions and in an all-people's defense war. In this connection we must be aware of the increased dangers to the security of the country and the constant topicality of Tito's view that every revolution shows its maturity by its ability to develop and to defend its achievements."

Addressing the veterans and officers of the unit cultivating the traditions of the First Proletarian Brigade, Milka Planinc said that their foremost obligation, as well as that of all Yugoslav People's Army Personnel, is to train further in the professional military and the ideopolitical fields; to improve human relations, to strengthen conscious military discipline, to use the modern equipment they handle in a rational way, and to contribute with all their work and behavior to the implementation of the policy of economic stabilization and the strengthening of combat readiness in all their units.

Further in her speech, Milka Planinc said:

"The moment in which we live demands peak training and firm ideopolitical unity of our Armed Forces, which, as Comrade Tito used to say, should be a nursery of brotherhood and unity, Yugoslav socialist patriotism, and togetherness of our peoples and nationalities in the future, too. We must always bear in mind that we can master our difficulties, protect the vital values of our society

and revolution, open new avenues in the development of the socialist self-managing and nonaligned community of equal peoples and nationalities only if we pull together, only if we join forces and are united."

Expressing thanks for the greetings on behalf of the Armed Forces personnel, Adm Branko Mamula, federal secretary for national defense, said:

"We also take your visit as an expression of the care and attention which the Federal Executive Council is paying to the building and strengthening of our armed forces and the defense and protection system as a whole. For the personnel of the Yugoslav People's Army this will mean a stimulus to fresh efforts and endeavors.

"We believe that this meeting comes at the right time, not only because we are on the eve of the Yugoslav People's Army Day, but also because of the fact that the present extremely complicated military-political situation in the world as well as some internal trends in society emphasize the significance of and the need for such meetings, better and more direct information, and encouragement in the efforts and tasks which everyone is solving within the framework of their responsibilities at this complex time.

"You could see and feel today the pulse of a Yugoslav People's Army unit. You could observe how we are organized, what the main points in which the leading and commanding organs are involved are--of course, including the League of Communists and all other subjects in the units--what the basic tasks are on which they are concentrated, and the problems which they face. You could see in practice for what purposes the funds allocated by our community for the financing of the army are spent by us. In the briefing that was given you today, it was stressed how the measures implementing the policy of economic stabilization adopted by the Federal Executive Council and our state and party leadership as a whole are accepted here. I assure you that all army personnel have offered and continue to offer full support for these measures. We shall continue to strive to make our contribution in this direction as great as possible.

"Allow me in conclusion to turn to you in gratitude for your visit and express my warm congratulations and best wishes for the coming Yugoslav People's Army Day and the New Year holidays.

"To the comrades, veterans of the First Proletarian Brigade, I wish good health and much happy life and successful work."

CSO: 2800/124

## BILIC ASSESSES SITUATIONS IN PRISTINA, KOSOVO

LD170006 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1810 GMT 15 Dec 83

[Text] Pristina 15 December (TANJUG)---On the second day of his stay in Pristina, Jure Bilic, member of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, attended a session of the Municipal Committee of the League of Communists, and then visited the Elektroprivreda Kosova for talks with the managers on management and production.

Taking part in the discussion at the session of the Municipal Committee of the League of Communists, at which the tasks of Pristina communists deriving from the decisions of the 10th LCY Central Committee session were defined, as were the tasks relating to further action to halt the exodus of Serbs and Montenegrins, Jure Bilic put forward his own impressions of the situation in Pristina, and in the province as a whole.

Bilic evaluated the economic situation in the Pristina municipality and in Kosovo as a whole as being very difficult and dramatic, especially since the present economic structure and development prospects militate against achieving processing capacities and greater employment.

Therefore, Bilic said, greater efforts are demanded of the Pristina and Kosovo communist than of communists in any other part of the country. You are all aware of the difficulties, but you must have the strength for even greater commitment. You must find the mechanics and methods of organization to solve individually all the "black spots" in the economy, Bilic emphasized, particularly at those collectives in which the situation is very bad. He warned that strength and opportunities must be found for greater production of coal and electrical power in particular, as well as ways to enable people working in this sphere to be better rewarded.

Touching on the political situation and the operations of the enemy, Bilic emphasized in particular that Albanian, Serbian, and Montenegrin communists and communists of all other nationalities must proceed together in the struggle against the enemy and in the struggle to eradicate all nationalist ingredients. The Albanian nationality in Kosovo has gained full national equality in this socialist self-managing community of ours. The enhanced national sentiment of the Albanians, such as burdens due to past injustice, must be channelled in a positive direction. History was unjust not only to the Albanians, but to all

our nations and nationalities, and we must return to that past: not, however, for the sake of divisions but for the sake of brotherhood between us. This socialism and this self-management of ours should be the recurring theme of our rapprochement and our unity. You must affirm this socialism and this self-management as a factor of synthesis and brotherhood, for without it we could once again find ourselves in a situation where brother kills brother and neighbor kills neighbor. Without this socialism of ours, both our present and our future could be bloody, as was the past, Bilic warned.

He proposed that in Kosovo a more profound analysis be made of the causes which led to the counterrevolutionary events, as was done in the Socialist Republic of Croatia after the mass [nationalist] movement. A more profound analysis must be made of all slogans, all the hostile slogans from positions of Albanian nationalism and irredentism, as well as revanchist slogans of other antinationalities, to enable improved political action to be launched to expose them.

In political differentiation, Bilic went on to say, all progressive people must first gather round the LCY program, and then there must be a vigorous settling of accounts, both politically and in all other ways, with all those belonging to the irredentists.

It is announced that Jure Bilic will also meet this evening with Ilijaz Kurtesi, president of the Kosovo League of Communists Provincial Committee.

CSO: 2800/124

## SAWP BODY ON RESPONSIBILITY FOR PUBLIC STATEMENTS

AU182204 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 13 Dec 83 p 3

[E. Demirovic, F. Nikocec Report]

[Excerpts] Sarajevo 12 December--The system of public information in Bosnia-Herzegovina has been developing quickly in recent years. Large production capacities and a complete technological framework with a considerably increased number of journalists, program and professional workers have either been built or are about to be finished. Despite the nonuniformity of this development and the difficulties and weaknesses that followed it, this system has demonstrated itself to be part of the political system. This connection and the extent to which it is included in self-management courses show this system to be a powerful means of support for progressive forces in realizing the present tasks and ensuring the overall development of the society.

This was one of the key assessments made at the session of the Republican Conference of the SAWP of Bosnia-Herzegovina (chaired by Rade Galeb), which has discussed the tasks of the Social Alliance in the development and socialization of the public information system in this republic.

## "Black Riders" of Our Journalism

Pointing out in the introductory report that the today's session is being held at a time of great efforts being undertaken by the workers class and the whole of society in the struggle for the development and advance of socialist self-managing society, and that this struggle--which is being waged in conditions of a complex international and domestic economic situation--is concentrated on the question of overcoming the present economic difficulties and realizing the long-term economic stabilization program, Ibrahim Hadzic stressed the increased significance of the public work and the enhanced duties and responsibilities of the public media in this struggle that is being waged by organized socialist forces.

Speaking about this, Ibrahim Hadzic said that the extent of the commitment to the long-term economic stabilization program of all those who work for the press, radio and television can be rightfully considered a criterion of how engaged they are, how capable they are, how organized and how ready to act they are.

Although the long-term economic stabilization program was received by working people with full support and although editorial boards devised special informative media programs concerning its implementation, there was nevertheless a pause after the final documents were adopted. The public remained bereft of a more extensive and profound elaboration of the long-term program. After the mobilization approach, there remained a verbal support only, and individual texts contain inconsistencies, contradictions, suspicion, and attitudes which express disbelief, pull one backwards, and frighten one instead of resolving and mobilizing.

Thanks to the efforts of the LC and the majority of working people in the press, especially after the sixth session of the LCY Central Committee, the volume of such writing was reduced. There should be no illusions, however, and one should bear in mind that the "black riders" of our journalism still appear occasionally and are waiting for the right moment for a new gallop. This is confirmed by the attitude towards the long-term economic stabilization program; by the persistent indirect, sometimes even direct, search for the cause of the present problems in the rights, and even the existence, of republics and provinces; and by a deliberate disregard of our real situation concerning the obligation to repay debts and the need to import spare parts and producer goods, a need which, it is agreed, has forced some of our republics and provinces to find things to export (for example, the ridiculing approach to the exports and imports of wheat, exports and imports of electric power, and the like).

On the whole, little is being done in the affirmation of common and unified aims; there is a preference to continue to search for differences without presenting arguments, to search for things which divide and confront.

#### Demagogy Towards the Public

The question of responsibility for the public word, in the broadest sense of the term, is actualized [aktuelizirana] in the society. Along with the full responsibility of journalists and editorial boards for what they publish, one should, in the same way, pose the question of the responsibility of all those who publicly act, speak, and write, who give statements, interviews, and the like. It is not infrequent that officials from the same organ give different assessments of the same question, that individuals give perplexing assessments of significant social questions, different from those adopted by the political leaderships of which they are members, and so on. Even among officials there are unmeasured public statements, a condescending attitude toward the press, and a demagogic attitude towards the public. Here lies the question of the responsibility of the leaderships whose members they are, as well as the question of more frequent and open public confrontation and criticism of such behavior.

CSO: 2800/124

## MIJATOVIC ADDRESSES OSIJEK LC ORGANIZATION

LD171014 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1633 GMT 16 Dec 83

[Summary] Osijek 16 December (TANJUG)--Cvijetin Mijatovic, member of the LCY Central Committee and of the SFRY Presidency, is in Osijek today. In attending a meeting of the Basic League of Communists' Organization at the Ratarstvo Cepin Basic Organization of Associated Labor of the Osijek industrial-agricultural combine, at which he was informed of the combine's efforts to implement economic stabilization, Cvijetin Mijatovic spoke first about the importance of food production and then dealt with unity in the League of Communists.

"The question of unity, as he said, is a term which can be given a one-sided interpretation if the democratic character of our party and the democratic centralism in the League of Communists is ignored. If there is a fear of various views in order not to disrupt unity, then we can lose a lot on the creative role of individuals and of Basic League of Communists' Organization and we could prevent the 'collective intellectual'--this is how our party could be described--to be just that."

The basic approach must involve democratic debate in which different and free thought can be manifested.

"We must fight against so-called comradeship, which is no longer our principled comradeship but some kind of comradeship interpreted in the petit-bourgeois way--and there are cases of that--penetrating the League of Communists. This comradeship proceeds from the view of a comrade not finding fault with another comrade; this is done at the expense of principles, at the expense of joint interests and joint policy, and the point of departure is some kind of familiarity. This should not be." We must understand that he who keeps silent about his comrade's mistake is not a good comrade. A communist must set an example in every respect. "In setting an example, the modesty of the League of Communists' member should also be manifested. This is not some kind of asceticism, nor some kind of radical, unrealistic demand to abandon normal life. But, there are cases today where there is a certain erosion of this concept about the communist having to set an example in every respect. In wartime we used to say that communists in units should be the first in the battle and the last in line for food. This is also important today. However, a section of the League of Communists' members are less like that today. We can even see, Cvijetin Mijatovic said, that there are those who, regardless of having in their pocket a great document, the party card, are even violating the laws, and abusing in various ways their positions and their membership in the league of communists."



Cvijetin Mijatov stressed that members of the LCY Central Committee recently, and in particular after the 10th LCY Central Committee Session, are trying to orientate themselves more, in the spirit of the conclusions of the 10th session, toward contacts with League of Communists' leaderships in the municipalities and that they are visiting basic League of Communists organizations and work collectives.

CSO: 2800/124

## ZAGREB LC DISCUSSES IDEOPOLITICAL TRAINING

LD170954 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1942 GMT 16 Dec 83

[Excerpts] Zagreb 16 December (TANJUG)--The Zagreb League of Communists City Committee Center for Ideotheoretical Work has organized a preparatory meeting for directors and lecturers of the City League of Communists organization's political school. Ante Markovic, president of the Croat Assembly Executive Council, spoke about topical issues concerning the implementation of the economic stabilization program, and Dr Dusan Dragosavac spoke about topical issues concerning intranational relations.

Ante Markovic recalled the major obligations to foreign countries which have a forceful effect on the economic situation in the country, and at the same time underlined that the Socialist Republic of Croatia has managed in 2 years to pay off \$2.6 billion of debts.

Dr Dusan Dragosavac considers the economic situation in the country to be serious, but so also is the political situation. He underlined that isolation is in evidence from the basic organization of associated labor right up to the republics and provinces. This constitutes a particular problem at the level of the republic, for it creates intranational problems. The central issue is whether social funds are developed for production and self-management or, rather, state capital, and the etatism and statehood founded upon that. The state is necessary, Dragosavac emphasized, adding that the question is whose foundation it serves. If we do not overcome this rapidly, the crisis will be exacerbated. In Yugoslavia now there are similarities with 1970 and 1971, with statehood and the state coming to the fore while the self-managing aspect of the sociopolitical community is weakening, Dragosavac said.

After pointing out the principled policy of the League of Communists in regard to national equality, Dragosavac emphasized that a close link exists between socialist self-managing relations, between brotherhood and unity and the social and national interests of each and every nation and nationality together in Yugoslavia. He said in particular that we must be determined in settling accounts with all nationalists (?theses) and also uncover their causes in our society. In this connection, Dragosavac also mentioned the abuse of beliefs for nationalist purposes, and in particular the manifestations of clericonationalism.

## ZAGREB DISCUSSION ON HISTORY WRITING DESCRIBED

Zagreb START in Serbo-Croatian No 385, 22 Oct 83 pp 14-17

[Article by Jelena Lovric: "The Newly Written History of Yugoslavia"]

[Text] In the 2-day discussion of the writing of history, journalistic memoirs and newspaper features, which was organized on 7 and 8 October of this year by the Center for Ideology and Theory and the Commission of the Croatian LC Central Committee for Ideological Work and Information, historians and public and political figures from all over the country discussed the writing of newspaper features and historical literature and memoirs which supposedly have been demystifying our history and the revolution, but which actually have been calling some of its fundamental principles into question. Unfortunately, the authors of the works which are in dispute did not participate in this very extensive discussion.

The 2-day conference was attended by more than 120 participants, 46 of whom participated in the discussion. From the great number of papers we have selected sizable passages or small fragments from those presented by certain participants. They were the following: Zivan Berisavljevic, member of the Presidium of the Vojvodina LC Provincial Committee; Dusan Bilandzic, historian, Zagreb; Dusan Biber, historian, Ljubljana; Jovan Deretic, member of the Presidium of the Serbian LC Central Committee, Belgrade; Spiro Galovic, member of the Presidium of the Serbian LC Central Committee, Belgrade; Milija Komatina, Belgrade; Ranko Koncar, School of Philosophy of Novi Sad University; Jovan Komsic, member of the Novi Sad City Committee; Miso Lekovic, Belgrade; Fuad Muhic, sociologist, Sarajevo; Drago Roksandic, School of Philosophy of Zagreb University; Vojan Rus, School of Philosophy of Ljubljana University; Prvoslav Ralic, Belgrade; Zorica Stipetic, historian, Zagreb; Vlado Strugar, Belgrade; Stanislav Stojanovic, chairman of the Commission of the LCY Central Committee for History, Belgrade; Stipe Suvar, member of the Presidium of the Croatian

LC Central Committee, Zagreb; Fabijan Trgo, historian, Belgrade; M. Vesic, Institute for Contemporary History, Belgrade; and Josip Vrhovec, chairman of the Presidium of the Croatian LC Central Committee, Zagreb.

Just as it is not altogether accurate that our present is entirely predetermined by the past, so it is not altogether inaccurate either that our present determines the past. The road to the past toward the future has never been a one-way street anywhere, but for years now, indeed decades, we have constantly been reaching only forward, only from time to time casting a flower on the altar of the revolution which has stood at the beginning of our beginnings. All the rest have been historical obscurity. But now, almost overnight, that steep slope has been turned into a marketplace in which everything under the sun is for sale, where Narodniki blare out at shrines, the brandy screeches from the chalice, the mob jostles and inquires, applauds the acrobat on the tight wire, this or that unprecedented sensation, gives full rein to the base passions ... and the aureole in which our revolutionary past was enwrapped even yesterday is twisting more and more into a question mark. What is it that has happened with our history? Or, what is it that is happening with us?

Why is it that all at once there is so much interest in what the wind has already covered over, why is it that our books dealing with the past are most in dispute, and the discussions about them the fiercest? Can it be that this society, under the pressure of all possible troubles, has no more intelligent way of spending its present time? Can it be ignorant of that age-old warning that anyone who concerns himself too much with the past may lose an opportunity to determine his own future? Is it a flight from the coarse reality into memories, or is it that society is actually looking to the past for an answer to the question of exactly where we went wrong? Is it a question of recalling the future? As the most outspoken, but also the most debatable expression of that turning to the past, the memoirs, journalism and newspaper features which have more and more frequently, as it is usually said, been arousing the public in the recent past, are doing injury to the spirit of community among our nationalities and ethnic minorities, and they are receiving scorn and intentional neglect from official historians.

"There is growing pressure being exerted by a kind of ideological trash literature in the writing of history, or, rather, the writing of alleged history, memoirs and newspaper features which aim at producing in the broadest public, the people, and especially the ranks of the young people, the impression and widespread conviction that up to now they have hardly even known the full and correct truth, that hagiography has been officially imposed instead of historical scholarship, that the revolution--the moment has now come, should be demystified, all the way to the conclusion either that the revolution did not take place or it would have been better if it hadn't." This assessment was expressed by Stipe Suvar in the recent discussion of the writing of history and memoirs, journalism and newspaper features "in the light of the current ideological controversies," which was organized by the Center for Ideology and Theory and the Commission of the Croatian LC Central Committee for Ideological Work and Information, in whose 2 days of proceedings numerous

historians and public and political figures from all over the country participated.

A similar assessment was expressed by Fabijan Trgo: "Without rigorous scholarly ambitions, but nevertheless with pretensions on the part of the authors to be serious and decent 'searches for the truth,' a particular commercial type of publication has been appearing on the fringe of the writing of history which is mostly concerned with the so-called taboo topics and which attempts to devalue the revolution and those who made it in a sensationalistic, but refined and demagogic way--sometimes directly, sometimes ambiguously, usually in the guise of demystifying history and casting suspicion on the revolutionaries and entire party leadership bodies." Trgo classified among such works "Novi prilozi za biografiju Josipa Broza Tita" [New Contributions to the Biography of Josip Broz Tito] by Vladimir Dedijer, Cencic's "Enigma Kopinic" [The Kopinic Riddle], and Kljakovic's "Dosije Hebrang" [The Hebrang Dossiers]. In the other statements made very frequent mention was made of the books "Slom kraljevine Jugoslavije" [The Downfall of the Yugoslav Monarchy] by Velimir Terzic and "Stranacki pluralizam ili monizam" [The Multiparty System or the One-Party System] by Vojislav Kostunica and Kosta Cavoski.

There have been many biting words, fascinating observations and sharp-edged arguments expressed concerning these books, and perhaps to some rather superficial observer, or even some participant in the discussion, it might seem that the conference actually turned into a scientific and political trial of unsuitable books. In their disputation some took pains in proving the inaccuracy or falsification in moving from detail to detail, and when that failed, they went brick by brick--to show in a moment how shattery the structure is; others felt that description en general was sufficient. But since the debate was not attended by the authors of the disputed books (which, in the judgment of Miso Lekovic, would have been "much more worthwhile and convincing," and about which Gordana Vljacic said: "A true communist discussion would also require the presence of the authors, the reviewers and representatives of the publishing houses. This way, it is like a blow being struck from the side: we'll treat them the same way they have treated us. But we cannot operate that way if we wish to be communists") we will not on this occasion dwell on that part of the discussion. Incidentally, the discussion was in fact not organized in order to elaborate the various problems in a professional way, but to cast a better light on their current ideological and political context and to answer the question of how one is to account for the onslaught of problematical books which, although they do not come from the same ideological circle, in spite of all the differences, are bound together by a desire and attempt to revive the past and, in the judgment of a majority, by their attack on the revolution and achievements.

"If it is a question of gaining a conception of past experience, then what is happening now need not be disturbing," Drago Roksandic said. "Every society, while it is in a state of revolutionary optimism as we were immediately after 1945, every society which emphasizes the revolutionary discontinuity with respect to the period which the revolution has marked itself off from, necessarily has no need to conceptualize the entire historical legacy because it is involved in what we might call a kind of assault on the heavens or in any

case in projects of the future. Every society which is maturing, as is obviously the case with Yugoslav society after nearly 4 decades of socialist experience, must necessarily rationalize its legacy. If we are emerging from the 'monotony,' in no case need this be reduced to destruction of revolutionary consciousness. Indeed, this only means that the experience has to be thought through from the beginning. Every generation must necessarily think through the revolutionary experience once again, with maturity, with a new sensitivity, with a new rationality, and from the new perspective of its civilization and culture. In that sense many of the questions today seem to me to have been logically put."

Vlado Strugar also agreed that the situation causing such dissatisfaction also gives evidence of three "favorable circumstances which are fruitful: the multiplied types of freedom in a self-managing society allow all decent expressions to be made, man's perpetual need to spread knowledge never ceases to compel science to continue its unending search for the truth," and "the moment has inevitably come for a society, when its conscience is beset by many questions, to turn to the past because of its experience with its creations and consequences." We might also mention that Spiro Galovic also expressed the opinion that it would not be normal for the interest in the watershed events of the liberation struggle and revolution to fade instead of growing now that "the passage of time has made it possible to examine most of the historical material of our own and of foreign origin and now that social and cultural development has built more solid prerequisites for scientific investigation of the past."

"It is a normal thing for every generation to reassess its past," says Milija Komatina, "but today a process is taking place which I would call a rearrangement of the past. The reasons differ, but the needs are always anchored in the present, and the goals--are also to rearrange something here in the present time."

As Suvar noted, great attention should be paid in particular to the tendencies toward revision of the conceptions, analyses and assessments of certain key events, developments and movements in our recent past which had been expressed quite long ago and adopted in the bosom of our Marxist thought and in our communist movement. And he then enumerated as the most pronounced and dangerous revisions those which have to do with the character of the creation of the Yugoslav bourgeois state ("The controversies in interpretations of that historic act range from euphoric national romanticism, with insistence only on realization of age-old aspirations, to the conception that a reactionary creation was brought about in which entire nationalities were not recognized, so that its very creation--according to certain authors--was not historically justified." Fabijan Trgo) and to the circumstances and causes of the downfall of the old Yugoslavia, which is also related to the role of the CPY and the behavior of the forces of the order that was in power at that time. (Trgo: "Those to blame for the downfall are being sought in the people, in disagreements among the nationalities, in the ethnic heterogeneity, rather than in the prolonged crisis that occurred because of the unresolved social and national problems of Yugoslav bourgeois society.") Attempts are also being made to revise the judgments that have so far prevailed concerning

delicate moments during the National Liberation Struggle, concerning the AVNOJ [Antifascist Council of the Liberation of Yugoslavia] decisions and great battles ... indeed all the way to the causes and consequences of the conflict with the Cominform. Attempts have become especially frequent to revise assessments about the role and behavior of the CPY and LCY over its entire existence up to this point.

Zika Berisavljevic had something more to say about what is hidden beneath our "pearls" of memoir writing and similar books: Degrading the national liberation struggle and compromising those figures who contributed in the West to the allies taking up our liberation movement as the only authentic combat formation in Yugoslavia and as the representative of the broadest strata of the people, assuming that at that point when the national liberation movement would discredit itself and "fall to the level of one of the factions which in the style of the dirty Balkan legacy would itself negotiate with the Germans, would also participate in the nonsensical fratricidal warfare, would manipulate and make a pact with God and the devil in the struggle for power, making blind use in this of the interest above all of Stalin and orders from Moscow and the Comintern, at that moment, then, the roots would be cut of the LCY's historical right to its constitutional position today and to its role as a leader in the future." At that point conceptions and forces of the democratic alternative come on the scene: for example, those of which the "current, but not the most original spokesmen are books and authors like Cavoski and company. But then those who represent those other bureaucratic-statist conceptions also come on the same stage, those whose ideological centers outside are perhaps working with less noise, but with just as much system and ambition. Events which were only in their pretext and the place where they occurred of the graveyard type, related to a recent political demonstration that unfortunately is controversial even now, have provided persuasive evidence of the goals of revising our recent history from this standpoint."

"In a historiography which only in recent years has emerged from the limits of a mere recounting of the facts there will be a very great many disputes and controversies, even those of an ideological nature," Ranko Koncar asserts. "But it is not good to proclaim all controversies in historiography to be disputes of an ideological nature. There is no dispute about their being controversies in historiography concerning the causes and reasons of the unification in Yugoslavia in 1918 and certain other very sensitive questions which are sometimes on the border of scientific and ideological problems. But I think that it would be erroneous if in such controversies we were to constantly and mechanically accentuate some sort of ideological problems insofar as historiography itself is prepossessed with a desire and need to discuss something which is at contention within itself. Even the study of the postwar past will in future lead to many conflicts and disputes."

Spiro Galovic also upholds the opinion that differences, even those of an ideological nature, are inevitable when the revolution and the events which preceded it and those which followed it are examined from our present perspective.



Every work of history is a dialogue between the time in which it is written and the time being written about. And "there is evident in society a certain vacillation concerning the further development of socialist self-management and equality of the nationalities and ethnic minorities, which has its basis in the strengthening of statism at all levels of social organization. Under the conditions of the social and economic crisis old social divisions which were historically resolved by the revolution and have been ideologically superseded by our development to date are revived." But that must not be a reason for us not to advocate a surge of research work. "We must not limit ourselves to a defensive attitude toward conservative interpretations of history and thus ourselves be led into the position of dogmatists deprived of any breadth and perspective who are smothering in the mostly futile disputation of problematical creations. We do have a need for a critical picture of our own selves and of our views in the past, since this is one of the conditions of a more profound insight into the future.

"We cannot take the view that everything has been studied and that there is no longer anything essential to be said. Not every incision that is made into details which are not sufficiently well known and into debatable factors is conservative by that very fact."

Even Fabijan Trgo found himself stimulated a bit to issue a warning that "we dare not take up the tendencies to preserve an idealized conception of the revolution by blocking critical reflections concerning it, concerning our social development as a whole, which does exist in our ranks, since that kind of 'defense' of the revolution plays straight into the hands of the critics who negate our reality.... We cannot halt science, preventing it from making a new interpretation, but an unavoidable question in this is the nature of the scientific soundness of the new interpretation, the correctness with which the facts have been chosen, and what sort of ideological underpinning it has." The authors of the "militant disputations" and tendentious attempts to devalue the revolution demonstrate a low level of professionalism and responsibility as historians and certain "tendencies loom greater than the problem of professionalism and are based on ideological commitments."

Who or what, then, makes it possible for such "fault-finding" books to be published? Some are inclined to blame only the publishers, "some of whom are specialized in hunting for doubtful material, using even mafioso methods, usually evading the regular procedures prescribed by law and manipulating the public." Others broaden that group of publishers by adding irresponsible reviewers and editorial councils. Gordana Vljacic also has certain other things in mind.

"The publications which irritate us are the result either of pure commercialism (in our country a book is a commodity like everything else), which does not think very deeply about the political implications of the works which are published, or again of pure and intentional political subversion. But it could be that both are involved."

However, Gordana Vljacic does not restrict herself to the irresponsible and malicious publishers or those disposed to passing something off. She sees

another cause of the appearance of such books in a certain crisis of contemporary Yugoslav society which began in the economy and is being powerfully reflected in all the fields of development of Yugoslav society today, and indeed even on the communist movement. "When the underground communist movement was in crisis, factional struggles cropped up, and when since the armed victory to the present time it found itself in states of crisis in carrying out its own programs, other solutions came forth, which were always based on the political experiences of the bourgeois Yugoslav state." A third reason lies in the authority of the names of the writers either of the book or the review, some of whom have over the years created a privileged position for themselves, and by contacts with the very summit of power they have achieved a certain support and a certain preconception about themselves, which from the very outset has deprived historians of the opportunity of dialogue on an equal footing.

Historians will admit with a heavy heart that quite a bit of the credit for the onslaught of newly written history also must go to official historiography: excessively serious and stiff, boring and vague, and neither interesting nor attractive enough, it has not found the time for certain issues or has closed its eyes to them, while it has muttered mutely about others, all the while seeming to be concealing something. Here are just a few of the charges which have been addressed to it: "Although it has managed to investigate the most important events in our recent past, there are still a multitude of major and also minor topics which historical science has not yet seriously concerned itself with" (F. Trgo); "Although in recent years it has achieved significant spurts, there is much in the history of the revolution which our historiography has not only not dealt with very completely as yet, but has not yet even touched" (S. Suvar); "To a certain extent historiography is to blame for having marginally penetrated to the center of the public stage and for having set the tone of public judgment about our past: it has been too much concerned with empirical reconstruction, and there has not been enough creative unrest in it" (S. Stojanovic); "Although there have not been any significant attempts in our historiography to infiltrate reactionary, nationalistic and anticommunist ideas and messages, still, indirectly, by its very dryness, it has itself contributed to the flood of historical journalism and memoirs: it itself does not meet the needs of public opinion, which is today more awake, more vigorous, more interests, more critical and less satisfied with conventional content and with pragmatism than ever before" (M. Vasic); historiography is to blame for the increasingly frequent revival and penetration of other ideologies offering some of their alternatives under the guise of an effort for a more scientific attitude and more objective interpretation and evaluation (M. Lekovic).

Miso Lekovic was quite definite: "The shortcomings of our historical journalism and newspaper features are a reflection of the shortcomings of our historical science. I am thinking specifically of its lagging behind, of its tardiness, of its helplessness and unpreparedness in tackling those topics (popularly known as taboo topics) which arouse great interest. Writings in various genres, often of poor value, appear concerning the events, the phenomena, the figures, and everything that has been important and interesting in history, everything that arouses and captures the curiosity of the ordinary

man, and which has not been scientifically researched, established and verified. Unless we offer scientific and truthful explanations about some of the topics unjustifiably referred to as being taboo, when they can be scientifically explained, it is hardly any wonder that we should find ourselves caught and surprised when works appear concerning them along with aggressive advertising, usually in popular magazines, purporting to be new discoveries which demystify our revolution."

So as not to restrict himself to general assessments, Lekovic also offered examples: negotiations of the Supreme Headquarters with German commands in the spring of 1943, on which, it is said, we have not yet given a "true and convincing answer and interpretation"; the scheduled negotiations between the delegation of the Supreme Headquarters and representatives of the Independent State of Croatia in January 1943, never held because of the beginning of the enemy 'Weiss' Offensive; the Supreme Headquarters' offer of negotiations with the Chetnik staff headquarters in eastern Bosnia in January 1942, which were not held because a German offensive ensued; and the talks which a member of the Politburo of the CPY Central Committee and Supreme Headquarters held with a Chetnik commanding officer in eastern Bosnia after the battle on Sutjeska.

Vlado Strugar added certain other questions to the dark spots and blanks in the field of our historiography: How did it happen that the Supreme Headquarters in late fall of 1941 withdrew only a twentieth of the Partizans from Serbia when the organization there was superb, and memories of abandonment of the homeland by the military in World War I were still fresh; in the first and second year of the war did the leadership of the CPY neglect Macedonia, since not a single important party official was sent there, nor any member of the Central Committee; was it necessary toward the end of 1944 and the beginning of 1945 to tie up so large a part of our forces on the front of the Drava and Danube, across Srem and eastern Bosnia, all the way to near the sea, or should the use of Partizan forces with high mobility have been continued...?"

Miso Lekovic spoke very critically not only about what people are still silent about, but also about how historiography is beginning to speak: "Many books in which our history is glorified beyond measure, in which events, phenomena and processes in our liberation war and revolution are unobjectively and uncritically described and evaluated, in which panegyrics are written about certain figures to whom all or almost all the values of our revolution are attributed, offer an occasion not only for scientifically sound demands for more objective and studious research and analyses, for scientific verification of the assessments made and for rejection of the errors, but writings are also emerging which dispute and deprecate the achievements of our historiography, thereby discrediting the history itself, its true values and figures." Lekovic followed this up: He is referring to certain things written about Tito, "that unquestionably greatest figure of our history, whose merits are inestimably great," but who "must not be separated and examined and evaluated apart from the party which he headed and from whose vital force he derived his own strength."

"We will not diminish in the least Tito's personality if we say that many decisions which are attributed to his vision were made on the basis of proposals which he received from below, from the party, political and military bodies of leadership. For instance, the proposal for the conference held in Stolice came from Croatia. And the proposal for issuing the regulation on people's power (the "Foca Regulations") also came from Croatia. And the proposal to hold the very important Tjentiste assembly of Montenegrin patriots (which contributed to the world receiving the truth about the treason of Draza Mihailovic) came from Montenegro. It would be possible to cite certain other decisions in the domain of military operations as well. Thus the proposal for carrying out the Bihac operation came from the Operational Staff Headquarters for Bosanska Krajina. I have had occasion to read the writings of foreign authors about World War II. They contain a great many critical remarks and critical objections to what was done by the supreme command (German, British and Soviet). It is unpleasant to realize that in the writings of our military historians there is no critical or objective analysis and evaluation of the work of the Supreme Headquarters or main headquarters. As though there were no sort of errors or oversights in their activity whatsoever, which is absurd (we might mention only the withdrawal from Uzice or certain decisions in the great battles)."

Vlado Strugar also testified to that same reluctance to admit our own mistakes and in the critical judgment of the work of our highest leadership bodies: even in the manuscript of the history of the LCY the criticism concerns only what the party has already confessed to be its error. Nothing more.

This inertness and hesitation to speak out critically, to offer opposition, is the third sin attributed to the historians. Only now they are harshly reproached for "not entering, except in rare cases, into warfare with that entire output which is published as historical science, but which nauseates the human mind in the mass" (Suvar). The question of why the historians are silent was one of the focal points of the discussion we are talking about. Some probably because it is beneath them to discuss something that has little connection with history (which would be like asking Ruza Pospis Baldani to discuss Wagner with Pretty Brena [the popular singer]), and others--and it is said that hesitation of this kind is most frequent--because they do not want to enter into criticism of writings whose purpose is not history, but various other kinds of skirmishing, other accounts and accounts to settle. Incidentally, as Rade Petrovic warned, it is very difficult and unrealistic to expect criticism in scholarship when in general a favorable climate does not exist for social criticism. Scholarship must be its own judge, but if that is to be possible, room must be opened up for it to have a contest of opinion. If everyone spits in its face the harsh jet of fire-fighting actions on which--in the absence of anyone else--the party decides, we can hardly expect it not to resemble a drenched hen.

"But still we should not delude ourselves that scholarly criticism would have decisive social effectiveness. It cannot prevent the reception, much less the production of different interpretations of history which are an expression of differing sociopolitical interests: doing away with the social conditions of their engenderment is not in the power of scholarly criticism,"

Zorica Stipetic said. "The reasons for the torrent of politicized interpretations of historical topics lie outside science. Ideologized interpretations of historical problems are a function of political desires for a different evaluation of the present time, not just the past we are referring to, and understandably the project for the future is supposed to be articulated from that."

What kind of political desires are those, what kind of projects are they which are hidden under the mask of the sometimes sensationalistic narration of history which always purports to be devoted to the truth. The intentions are dark, and so the warnings are serious. They are uttered with varying vocabulary, and they carry electrical charges of varying intensity. Not only for the sake of illustration, but more because of their impressiveness, we will quote them here a little more extensively.

Fabijan Trgo: Political motives obviously stand behind the tendentious interpretations of the recent past according to the interpreters' own ideological opinions.

Vojan Rus: The retrograde theses which are today served up to us actually lead in two dangerous directions: one is the attempt to form the multiparty system in Yugoslavia once again, which would signify the formation of many parties on an ethnic basis, and within that many other communist, Stalinist, and clericalistic variants, each with its semiarmed organization, and in a few years we would have a Lebanon in Yugoslavia. Or, those theses express a desire for the formation of Yugoslav centralism, which in turn signifies a strengthening of the position of the nationalists and once again a breaking up of Yugoslavia. That is why those ideological distortions are very serious and very dangerous.

Stipe Suvar: One should especially bear in mind the very harmful consequences of all those doubtful intrigues pertaining to history and against its truth in the sphere of interethnic relations and the brotherhood and unity of our nationalities and ethnic minorities. That is, one gets the impression that the disputes and defense of an interpretation and revision are more and more taking on nationality-republic and province "categorization" and "delimitation," so that there are times when real attacks are made on entire nationalities and on their historical destinies, without such attempts being given a response in other communities, or in fact with their being relativized and concealed there, in the absence of determined Marxist criticism, historiographic judgment and a clear ideological-political position.

Dusan Bilandzic: If I spot in the various writings a tendency to destroy Tito's conception that Yugoslavia can exist only on the destruction of the ideas of the great national state--and every one of our nationalities has had such an idea--then I also see a danger for the future. Unless that formula continues to stand, we have no future.

Jovan Komsic: It is a question of an attempt to give a scientific-historical and theoretical foundation for that political and ideological position which recently we have rightly been calling more or less organized attempts at de-Titoization and de-Kardeljization.



Dusan Biber: "Recently attacks have been more frequent on the personal integrity and morality of the leaders, above all Comrades Tito and Kardelj. We are faced with a so-called de-Titoization, but under the perfidious guise of setting up a monument to Comrade Tito. Politicians who feel that the time for de-Titoization has come--let them do this at the party congresses, and let them leave historiography to the scholars. Whoever let the dog loose, let him go catch him. Why do I say that? Because I do not want certain other battles to be waged through historiographic topics; it is not just historiography that is manipulated, but also the historians and the masses of people, and all this would create a specific political effect."

Biber issued the charge that such topics are being intentionally planted, that artificial debates are being created, that dust is being raised, and he demanded--if certain forces in the party are encouraging such things--that "they wage war openly, in the communist way, let them not plant cuckoo eggs. If we go on this way, I fear that by enflaming the atmosphere we will find ourselves in the situation of Lebanon."

Jovan Deretic also said that the negative things in our contemporary life: the economic crisis, disunity in the League of Communists and in our society, and especially the disrupted interethnic relations--cannot fail to have an influence on the way we view and portray events from the past. Deretic illustrated this change in perspective in a very impressive way: formerly we portrayed opponents in the revolution above all as traitors to the people and collaborators with the occupier, while recently there has been ever more emphasis on interethnic enmity and fratricidal warfare. "We cannot but associate that change with certain very-well-known things in our interethnic relations," he said.

"We are witnesses to an ideological disagreement, an important disagreement as to whether we will diminish or enflame the ideological tension," Prvoslav Ralic said. "It is not a question of blunting the blade of ideological struggle within the League of Communists. It is a question of overcoming sectarianism. In actuality it is a question of going back to the sources of this revolution and of the party, when it was possible to bring together everything that was democratic, patriotic, the ethnic and the class. We are against the monolithic monotony full of fear of a threat to the great historical truth about the revolution, but we are equally against that other irrational fanaticism of individuals and self-styled committees which assign themselves the role of saviors of ethnic groups when no one, least of all those ethnic groups, has so authorized them. Simply because our nationalities do not need either bureaucratic or intellectualistic oligarchies, but a revolution which they themselves have carried out. We must see that we are on the other side of the provincial spirit. As though we are unable to handle the political triumph of our socialist revolution. The nationality is eating away, rather than enriching, the Yugoslav intellectual situation."

In a description of the present situation, and indeed even in establishing the causes of the undesirable and negative phenomena, the gathering of historians and politicians went according to expectations. Saying goodbye after the jeremiads and after the shattering warnings--surely it will not end up

just like that? What matter if the historians in the future behave differently, if they do not keep silent while the caravan passes before them, as Josip Vrhovec put it, of "worthless and antihistorical, anticultural, and, unfortunately, also antisocialist tendencies and conceptions," what matter if they consent to snatch other people's chestnuts out of the fire, if they taste that part of the stew which they themselves were least responsible for, what matter if among the reviewers there are none who would sell their soul to the devil, and on editorial councils there are only people who work and take responsibility--if, then, everything in the future is the way it isn't at present, that in itself would hardly change matters in any essential or lasting way.

What, then?

"It seems to me that we still have, and indeed in the League of Communists," Josip Vrhovec said, "those who think that all of this 'hullabaloo' should be resolved through some sort of neutralistic-objectivistic debates in which we would more or less tell them what we think, and they would tell us what they think, and then let us leave it to the people to have fun and let it seek its own real truth. I think that that is false democracy, that it is not appropriate to the character of our socialist self-managing society, and that we would have to state more definitely how we look on authentic and true democracy, on authentic and true creativity, on the development even in this area of scholarship of authentic and true freedom of thought, choice and work."

Fuad Muhic expressed the opinion that "both as a society, as a science, and as a matter of policy," we have taken a "rather democratic" and "exceptionally tolerant" attitude toward those who "are actually legalizing ideological pluralism" for us, and "our susceptibility for certain historical complexes when it comes to democracy could one day have far broader consequences."

"We have to become accustomed to works of this kind," said Ranko Koncar. "We have gone through the phase when we prohibited them, when we made it impossible for people to say what they thought. This practice has proved to be very bad, very negative, and I would like to see it really behind us. It is much wiser to oppose this kind of journalism and arguments of this kind with scientific arguments. I fear that nothing else will have any lasting effect."

"A society's cultural maturity," Spiro Galovic said, "is manifested when, while it acknowledges the right to a subjective picture of the past and the bearing of witness concerning history, it uses the means of criticism to prevent pamphleteering and that type of bearing witness which does not originate so much from a desire for the truth as from a desire to settle certain personal accounts at a very late date.(...) A certain return to the old form of conflict in our area has its point of support in social reality, that is, in statist-bureaucratic relations. Political mediation of economic life essentially restricts the processes of integration in those matters which are decisive for Yugoslav cohesion, and they are the production of the material conditions of life, which are imposing divisions in various spheres of life and are parcelizing the consciousness of history. It is out of that narrowing of the perspective of the revolution that the turn toward the past, which is not



up-to-date, is essentially born. This is the foundation on which doubts and questions arise, as well as that type of disappointment which is manifested in a return to the old forms of thought which we thought to have superseded both at the social level and in large part on the personal level as well. Outside this context we cannot understand a certain revival of bourgeois views concerning the present and past and a renewal of rightwing views in public life.

"The revolution was victorious by raising high the banner of brotherhood and unity and equality. There were no other banners for the freedom and renewal of Yugoslavia, and this remains an indisputable historical truth. If today we from time to time get in a situation where we must prove this once again, then the problem lies not so much in anyone's short memory of the past as in what those liberation slogans mean today. That is why, in my opinion, the problem of ideological controversies in this, as in every other, separate sphere is largely resolved in another area, and that means by liberating social initiatives and the potential of the revolution in the direction of the further development of socialist self-management and the free association of the producers, which requires bolder confrontation with the statist-bureaucratic barriers at all levels of the organization of society. If the revolutionary spirit is on the defensive, if there is an obvious lack of desire for change, if the determination of many people to fight should weaken, then disagreements which are basically irrelevant burst forth into the foreground.

"I do not underestimate the importance of critical speech about deeds and trends, nor efforts aimed at improving the work of all factors in society which bear responsibility for the ideological and cultural yardsticks of publishing policy and of scholarly historical research. However, in and of themselves these efforts can offer results which are limited in time and content. The ideological struggle under those circumstances is waged to some extent beyond the Marxist horizon and tends toward a sterile dispute between bourgeois-liberal and dogmatic-bureaucratic views. The greater the extent to which the processes of liberation are real in the present time, the easier and less painful it is to confront the past, the simpler it is to shed light on those moments of history which have not yet been investigated. And conversely--the lesser the extent to which the revolution is confirmed in the present, the more insistence there is on absolute infallibility in the past. But that is precisely the reason why the past is turning into a kind of Pandora's box," Spiro Galovic said.

Had there not been such warnings, perhaps we might have deluded ourselves with the false hope that more lasting order could be introduced in the ranks of historiography thanks to more thorough preparation. The battle for a different kind of historiography and for a more appropriate attitude toward the past is to be won or lost in the field of that principal battle which this society is waging: self-management and socialism or that other which, we swear, no one wants, and yet it does have somewhere among us--where is that?--a strong point of support. In short, society has the kind of historiography it has deserved. No matter if a revolution is carried out within it--if relations in society are not revolutionized--nothing will suffer change for any lengthy period or to any essential extent. The issue of history would be easy if it belonged only to the past.

PHILOSOPHY JOURNAL BANNED FOR 'INSULTING' LENIN, STALIN

AU301148 Belgrade NIN in Serbo-Croatian No 1721, 25 Dec 83 p 33

[Dragan Jovanovic article: "Eros and Logos"]

[Text] The Belgrade District Court confirmed last week (14 Dec) the writ issued by the public prosecutor temporarily banning the distribution of the third issue of the philosophical journal THEORIA, published by the Philosophical Society of Serbia.

In its issue No 3/83, the journal THEORIA of the Philosophical Society of Serbia, printed by the Glas Printing Work Organization of Belgrade, carried on page 4 a photographic montage with the head of Josif Vissarionovich Stalin and a seminude female body, and on page 76, a photographic montage with the head of Vladimir Il'ich Lenin and a seminude female body, it is said in the explanation of the writ of a temporary ban signed by Miodrag Tmusic, deputy public prosecutor. "Such a representation of former leading USSR statesmen (who for many years occupied key leading posts in the USSR) in a distasteful and insulting way disturbs the maintenance and development of friendly relations between the SFRY and the USSR. In this connection it is of special significance that Vladimir Il'ich Lenin was a distinguished leader of the socialist revolution, which he headed, and as such he became a symbol not only of the peoples of the Soviet Union but of the entire freedom-loving mankind, including of course Yugoslavia, and he has remained so up to the present day."

Fortunately all is not lost for the journal THEORIA, because during the proceedings the court established "the existence of technical possibilities to extract pages 4 and 76 containing the above-mentioned photographic montages, and the court decided that the said measure of a ban on the distribution and confiscation of the journal THEORIA No 3/83 refers only to these parts of the said journal."

After all this we can nevertheless report that THEORIA No 3 will most probably appear on the stands after the new year, of course without the photographic montages showing Stalin and Lenin. Even without them, the journal will be seething with a number of lascivious cartoons and vignettes which, in the assessment of the editors, are to illustrate the basic theme of the "Eros and Logos" issue.

It must be said that this is the first issue of the journal THEORIA in which cartoons and vignettes appear, and that the editorial board will draw some lessons from this ban about the "packaging" of the journal in the coming issues. This at least is the result of the (un)successful experiment with political pornography.

CSO: 2800/122

## YUGOSLAVIA

### DJILAS INTERVIEWED BY VIENNA TELEVISION

[Editorial Report] Vienna Domestic Television Service in German at 2050 GMT on 19 December carried a 5-minute "exclusive" interview given by prominent Yugoslav regime critic Milovan Djilas to Austrian radio and television Belgrade correspondent Gustav Chalupa, time and place not given, in Serbo-Croatian with superimposed German translation. The first part of the interview deals with Djilas' assessment of the methods and practices of communism in seizing power in a country, which he says have not changed; his attitude toward Tito in connection with his books that are banned in Yugoslavia--he neither hates nor glorifies him; and Yugoslavia's territorial differences with Italy and Austria after World War II. In reply to a question how he assesses democratization and liberation in Yugoslavia today, as compared to after the war, Djilas says:

"Today Yugoslavia is certainly a little more liberal. Liberalization in Yugoslavia differs from one republic to the other. In Bosnia nothing has changed, or very little, since that time, while the situation in Serbia and in Belgrade--because of special circumstances--and in Slovenia has tangibly changed. The changes are a result of the activities of the society which is pushing toward more elbow room, and it is being promoted by relations with foreign countries, by trade, tourism, and trips abroad. But this is actually not the result of a deliberate policy of the leadership."

Asked about his present attitude toward the Yugoslav state that put him in jail for 10 years, Djilas says he was only 9 years in prison, and adds:

"I am in opposition to this regime today, too. I do not agree with it on any question except on the defense of Yugoslavia's independence, although I doubt the effectiveness of the means and methods of this defense. I am convinced that Yugoslavia needs to be reformed from scrap, in all sectors of life."

CSO: 2800/124

END